

The Nation.

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The Week.

THE Republican State Convention, which met at Rochester on the 26th ult., was looked forward to with considerable interest as being likely to reveal Senator Conkling's precise attitude towards the Administration. It was well known that he had taken considerable pains to procure the election of delegates faithful to himself, and it was suspected from Mr. A. B. Cornell's disregard of the President's order that his chief had hostile intentions. The public expectation was still further heightened by the report that Mr. G. W. Curtis meant on this occasion to take issue with the machine-men with regard to the President's "policy." When the Convention met it was found that three-fourths of the delegates were Conklingites, and that the programme had been arranged with great care by their leader. He draughted the platform; had Mr. T. C. Platt, an obscure but devoted member of Congress, made temporary chairman in order to enable him to open the proceedings by a violent and abusive attack on the Administration, and secured for himself (Conkling) the offer of the permanent chairmanship, but waived it in favor of Platt so that he might remain on the floor to do battle. Except a slight attack on Platt's flank by Mr. Forster, of Westchester, when it was proposed to make him permanent chairman, there was at first every appearance of "harmony," and, in fact, Mr. Conkling, on seeing the applause with which he was greeted, formally pronounced the Convention "harmonious." This happy state of things did not last long, however. Mr. Curtis put an end to it by moving a resolution by way of amendment to the platform, eulogizing the President and his course in the strongest manner, and followed it by a powerful speech calling on the Convention to support him both in his civil-service policy and in his treatment of the South.

In the evening Mr. Conkling replied, denying that the Convention, being a State Convention only, was called on either to approve or blame the Administration, while it had a full right to hold its peace about it; indulged in some gross abuse of Mr. Curtis, delivered with great vehemence of manner, and claimed for the New York Republicans the right to criticise Mr. Hayes if they thought proper. The platform, which he appears to have drawn up himself, is a characteristic document. It concedes to the President the right to decide when he shall use the military force of the country to protect a State government against domestic violence, and expresses the hope that the manner in which he has exercised his discretion at the South will turn out well; "insists upon purity, frugality, and efficiency in every branch of the public service," and offers the following plan of civil-service reform, which we venture to say will make all the "theorists" and "doctrinaires" hang their heads with shame. It bears every evidence of deep and protracted study, and does credit to "the great Senator." We reproduce the greater part of it:

"First. No needless office, or officer, or public agent should exist.

"Second. Compensation for official services should be fair and just, but in no case excessive.

"Third. Fit men, and no others, should hold public trusts.

"Fourth. Every official, high or low, should be required at all times faithfully to perform his duty and the whole of it.

"Fifth. No official or office-holder should be subject to political or partisan assessments, or to interference in any way with his political rights or action, and plain laws should forbid and punish all attempts to make or enforce such assessments, or to control or to abridge in any respect the absolute freedom in political action which in this country belongs to all voters alike."

There is only one thing needed to make this a complete instrument of reform and prepare it for immediate execution, and that is a sixth section, providing that every man in the United States shall do his duty in that station of life to which it has pleased God to call him. The platform further shows that no employer, whether private or political, should be allowed "to encroach upon or coerce others in the enjoyment of any of the rights or the exercise of any of the duties of citizenship" (*i.e.*, that the Custom-house men should be allowed to engineer conventions and caucuses as much as they please); that as there is only one Federal officer in the State to 152 voters, it stands to reason that this one cannot "dominate" the 152; approves of resumption; calls for co-operation and mutual consideration between capital and labor; castigates the Democrats; favors a State reapportionment and expresses interest in municipal reform, but refrains from any recommendation or even mention of the Constitutional amendments proposed by the late Commission and now waiting for adoption.

Altogether, the student of politics will not often meet with a better illustration of the full and efficient working of the machine. The feeling of the body towards reform was expressed in Platt's remark in his opening speech, that the question of civil-service reform had been "magnified into unseemly proportions," and had become a "shibboleth" that "nauseated the public." The proceedings seem to have "nauseated the public" thoroughly. The Republican press has been all but unanimous in condemnation of Conkling's performances, and it is admitted that they have made success at the election impossible, notwithstanding the general goodness of the candidates nominated. The result leaves the Republicans, however, in an awkward position. If they give the ticket a strong vote, they seem to approve of the Convention and its great author and manager; if they abstain, they give the State by a heavy majority to the Democrats. It has been suggested that they may be relieved of their perplexity by calling public meetings to condemn Conkling and his doings, or by getting the county conventions to do it; but censure of this kind, however strong, is pretty sure to be partial and ineffective. Conkling has got the best of the reformers for this election, and they must make up their minds to let him enjoy his triumph. Of the effect of his triumph on the great man's political fortunes, however, we trust there is no question. The Convention has been very important as marking the beginning of a split which will undoubtedly grow wider. Conkling has done what Blaine was afraid to do, put himself frankly at the head of the malcontents, and with such vehemence that he cannot retreat or compromise.

The Maryland Democracy held their State convention in Baltimore last Thursday. They spoke in very mild terms of the irregularity in the method of deciding the last national election; approved and will support the President's Southern "policy"; insist upon economy in public affairs; demand a revision of our present tariff laws, and oppose subsidies of all kinds. At a ratification meeting subsequently held, Senator Whyte, who had presided at the Convention, declared that factious Republican opposition to the President would find no aid among Southern Democrats. The action of the Wisconsin Democrats was in marked contrast to that of their Maryland brethren. For platform they adopted a remarkable hodge-podge, of which it is sufficient to say, in brief, that it opposed many things which should have been left unopposed—as, for instance, the demonetization of silver and the Resumption Act; and favored many things which should have been opposed—the taxation of bonds and their payment in currency, repeal of the Resumption Act, wholesale Granger legislation, a usury law, etc. Among its very few good points was opposition to subsidies and to high protective tariffs. A rabid inflationist was nominated for Governor. The Minnesota Republican Convention, held on the

27th, is mainly worthy of note as adopting a resolution pledging "submission to the popular vote of every proposition entertained for the payment of the State railroad bonds," which were recently repudiated by popular vote. The Convention also approved the President's course as regards the South and the civil service, and favored an early resumption of specie payments—silver, of course, to be monetized. The present State officers were renominated.

We trust that the Indian delegation which visited the President on Thursday last will be the last of its kind. There have been several visits of this sort to Washington during the past few years, and they seem to be a waste of money and to produce no perceptible diminution of Indian troubles. In the present case, the chiefs made the old complaints about the dishonest agents, and the general cruelty and rascality of the white man, but accompanied them with demands for immediate civilization. Red Cloud asked for "everything for farming, including stock of all kinds, mowing-machines and ploughs, and a school." The only appurtenance of reform he did not want was horses, and he objected to going to the Missouri River this winter, as desired, owing to the abundance of whiskey in the neighborhood of that stream, showing that, like Niles G. Parker, he inclines to be a temperance "worker." Big Road demanded 1,000 boxes of money; 1,000 head of cattle, including 500 cows; 1,000 head of sheep and hogs; likewise wagons and a school-house. The extravagance of this gentleman's demands, Mr. Welsh explained, was due to the fact that, although a "clear thinker and a leading man, he had never been in the midst of civilization before, and was embarrassed by the present surroundings." Little Wound wanted two, four, and six-horse wagons, while Iron Crow modestly asked for "good grub" and to know how to raise his children. The President gave them plenty of good advice, and pointed out the advantages of an agricultural over a predatory life; but isn't it high time to make a real beginning of civilization with them? Is it not possible to get the coming Congress to provide the Secretary of the Interior with the machinery necessary for settling these people on farms or ranches, and putting an end to the present system of out-door relief with interludes of war? Is it not ridiculous for a great nation to have large gangs of mounted paupers under its care, whom it has to assault every now and then with a standing army, and manœuvre against and negotiate with through ministers plenipotentiary and envoys extraordinary? Sitting Bull is still up in Canada waiting for the embassy which is on its way to him, and which, he says, will consist of "preach-preach soldiers" from Philadelphia, for whom, however, he pronounces himself fully a match in 'cuteness.

The failure of the President's "policy" in West Virginia, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Missouri, and Illinois during the late railroad troubles was plain and apparent enough, and we have never sought to gloss it over. The State authorities made only feeble and ineffectual attempts to protect life or property, and "troops" had to be applied freely in all directions. Now, however, there comes even a more glaring illustration of the unwisdom, to use a mild word, of his course in not keeping two companies of infantry, at least, in the State-House at Harrisburg. General Pearson, the officer in command of the militia during the riots, and who, it is admitted on all hands, acted with but little energy, has been arrested in Pittsburgh and held to bail on a charge of murdering a man who was killed by the fire of the troops. The Mississippians have been abused a good deal, and for the most part justly, for their slowness in prosecuting the actors in the Kemper County tragedy in their State, but they have at last gone to work, and their Grand Jury has indicted a batch of the assassins, and it is expected that some of them at least will be brought to justice. Suppose, however, that instead of doing this they had indicted the sheriff for killing a man while endeavoring to suppress the riot, what would some of our papers say of the "policy"? How the blatant thieves who have been plundering South Carolina and Louisiana would raise their heads and crow. And yet for savage

violence and bloodshed, and murderous intent, and general hostility to civilization, the Kemper County affair was not half as bad as the Pittsburgh affair, and nothing that has occurred in Mississippi since last March so signally illustrates the weak points in the "policy." We therefore think the State-House at Harrisburg ought to be occupied by a military force, and when the day for the meeting of the Legislature comes no one should be allowed to take a seat without a permit from Don Cameron.

The newspaper "interview," as a mode of communicating with the public, offers the advantage to the interviewed that he can never be held strictly responsible for the sentiments ascribed to him by the interviewer. If he makes a "hit" he reaps the benefit of it, but if he commits a blunder, or exposes a bad side of his own character, it is always open to him or to his friends to say that the reporter misunderstood him, or that his words were spoken in the privacy of social converse and were not intended to be given to the public. General Grant, for instance, is at liberty to say in his heart with the Psalmist, that all men are liars; but when he says in the columns of the *Herald*, through the medium of an interviewer at Edinburgh, that the late Senator Sumner was an habitual liar and the late Mr. Motley a disobedient bungler in diplomacy, the retort will involuntarily rise to many lips that a President who could give his confidence to Delano, Robeson, Belknap, Williams, and a long line of similar worthies, would naturally cherish a dislike to such men as Mr. Sumner and Mr. Motley, and would be but an indifferent judge of their motives, characters, and acts. Nevertheless, the public may be entirely mistaken in supposing that General Grant ever said these things to the *Herald* correspondent with the thought that they would be printed in the newspapers. More accuracy and less prejudice may be accorded to that portion of the interview which relates to General Grant's future movements and intentions. We are informed that he remains abroad partly from a desire to see more of Europe and partly from a desire to escape any present entanglement with American politics. If he were at home he apprehends that he should be charged with having a hand in all the political manœuvres of the day, whereas he desires to have nothing to do with politics "until everything settles down." Ex-Presidents of the United States have usually had no difficulty in letting politics alone, and in this endeavor they have commonly been assisted by the people with good-natured unanimity. But in the case of ex-President Grant there does not appear to be a disposition in some quarters to allow him to refrain, even if he were so disposed. Mr. Conkling, on his return from Europe, while sailing up the bay waving the American flag, alluded feelingly to the plain, unpretending, upright, downright citizen, etc., etc., so much in contrast, of course, to the veneered, stuck-up, sinister and designing crew who have since got into the White House. Mr. Platt, chairman of the recent Rochester Convention, was likewise charmed with the spectacle of an ex-President travelling abroad with the plain, republican manners of a citizen, instead of instantly clapping a crown on his head and forswearing his native land for ever. Now, if this frequent eulogium, this incessant "pointing with pride," has some reference to the coming time when the ex-President will feel at liberty to give his mind afresh to politics, its significance can be apprehended, and the question will naturally be asked what part he is expected to take in future campaigns.

The fraudulent issue of 11,000 shares of the West Philadelphia street railroad by the President, Mr. John S. Morton, in complicity with the secretary and treasurer, for the purpose of helping themselves and others through financial difficulties, furnishes the latest scandal of the hard times. Mr. Morton has been a man of considerable prominence in Philadelphia, and President of the Permanent Exhibition; but beyond this the only peculiarity in the case is the readiness of three leading officers of a wealthy corporation, whose stock stood far above par and was one of the "widow-and-orphan stocks," to combine in a bold swindle. They have, after

some delay, been arrested and held to bail. Morton's fall has had the extraordinary result of eliciting from some of the Philadelphia clergy and one or two religious papers the opinion that the revelation of his villany is the judgment of God on him for consenting to or promoting the opening of the Exhibition on Sunday. If this be true, we are bound to believe that God Almighty would have convicted at Morton's frauds by assisting him in covering them up, and have allowed him to go on cheating innocent people, if he had only kept his show closed on the Sabbath day. We hope the rational portion of the religious world is alive to the effect which this blasphemous nonsense has on the influence of the pulpit and of religious teachers generally.

Another instalment of Tweed's testimony was given last Saturday. The record of votes upon a bill passed in the State Legislature during the "Ring" days, he states, does not always prove that men whose names are not recorded in the affirmative were not therefore bribed to help its passage. A man's favorable influence was often worth more than his vote, and was accordingly paid for, or he would be paid for his vote in Committee of the Whole, although absent when the bill went through the Senate or Assembly. A contract with José F. Navarro for supplying water-meters to the city, and for the payment of which a suit against the city for a large sum is now pending, was pronounced fraudulent, as was another contract with William Nelson, jr., for sewer-pipes. Several suits of E. Jones & Co., amounting to over \$800,000, for stationery, were also said to be based on fraudulent claims. Jones & Co., indeed, appear to have been in the habit of supplying city officials with anything desired—crockery, trunks, saddles, harness, jewelry, writing-desks, sleigh-robes, etc.—and then charging the city for them as stationery. Any official who had authority to bring them a requisition for stationery received a desirable present, from a pocket-knife to costly pictures. The present suit of the Tenth National Bank against the city should, according to Tweed, be against Ingersoll, who borrowed the money on his own responsibility by depositing bills against the Court-house. Among the directors of the bank at that time were Tweed, James Fisk, Oakley Hall, Connolly, and Ingersoll. Tweed asserted his ability to furnish evidence in the suits of the city against Coman and O'Donnell for about \$750,000. Disbecker (formerly a Police Commissioner), E. K. Apgar (now Deputy Secretary of State), and William Hastings received money from Tweed, although doing nothing for the city to earn it. Members of the Citizens' Association—Nathaniel Sands, Mr. Henry, and Judge J. F. Daly—were "taken care of" by Tweed, and their opposition silenced. The first was made a tax commissioner, the second a dock commissioner, and the third a judge. The *Albany Argus* and *Journal* were subsidized. Contradictions or explanations of Tweed's testimony have been made by ex-Senator Cauldwell, the president of the Tenth National Bank, Mr. E. K. Apgar, Judge Daly, and the *Argus* and *Journal*.

The public-debt statement shows a reduction during the month of September of \$3,880,000, and since July 1 of \$8,570,968. The coin balance of the Treasury is now \$119,152,000, against \$106,900,000 on the first day of September, and \$64,890,000 on the first day of October, 1876. The legal-tender notes now outstanding make a total of \$356,914,000, against \$368,494,000 a year ago, and the general currency balance of the Treasury is now \$14,200,000 against \$12,594,000 a year ago. The sale of 4 per cent. bonds was checked long ago, and it is doubtful if more can be sold before resumption. The Treasury, however, has \$100,000,000 4½ per cents, which can yet be made available for resumption purposes, and the market price for which rules sufficiently above par in gold to make their sale easy on the terms which the law permits. There is every reason to believe that, if the Resumption Act stands as it is, a gold currency will be secured under it on January 1, 1879. The Act is threatened on the one hand by the inflationists, who object to the moderate contraction it directs, and on the other by an influential class of hard-money people who want more contraction than can be got under the law. The latter are urging a law which shall permit

the Treasury to sell bonds for legal-tender notes—that is, which will permit the funding of these notes into bonds. If it could be got, it would be well. The danger is that it will simply work to overthrow the present law. At the close of the week the gold value of the Treasury legal-tender note to pay one dollar was \$0.9720. Although silver in London has advanced to 55½d. per ounce, yet, by reason of the condition of the sterling exchange market, the bullion in a 412½-grain silver dollar had at the close of the week a gold value of only \$0.9242.

There is a general lull in the Russo-Turkish conflict, owing probably to exhaustion on both sides no less than to rain, snow, and mud. The week past may safely be set down as the least eventful since the 24th of April, when war was declared by Russia and her armies began crossing the frontiers both in Europe and Asia. The startling figures transmitted of the losses sustained by the Russians before Plevna in previous weeks are more or less fully confirmed, while Osman Pasha's loss is variously estimated. The recapture, on September 12, of the redoubts taken by Skobelev on the 11th is stated to have cost the Pasha three thousand men. The Russians officially admit that on the 22d he received a reinforcement of "about ten thousand infantry from Sophia, supported by artillery." Gen. Kriloff's cavalry, "posted to intercept them" with their large convoy, was forced to retreat from the rear of Plevna, and subsequently also failed to intercept a second Turkish convoy for that place, near Etropol. The Russians have been reinforced by detachments of the Guard, and expect still heavier succor. The Rumanians continue to sap and trench, and, if certain reports are true, have also attempted to capture the second Grivitza redoubt by assault, meeting with a severe repulse. These allies, formerly much ridiculed by correspondents, are now extolled by some above the army of the Czar, which a despairing friend describes as "completely at sea," having "no plan, no idea, no head." Todleben, who is reported to have succeeded Gen. Zotoff as chief of staff of the armies before Plevna, may supply those requisites for a new aggressive movement, or advise as to the localities most suitable for winter quarters, of which there is already much talk. The obstinate defence of the Shipka pass, near which Suleiman Pasha is fortifying his camp, apparently intending to winter there, shows that the Russians do not yet entertain the idea of retiring for the winter to the Rumanian banks of the Danube.

The report that the Turks had established themselves north of the Danube, opposite Silistria, was untrue, as was some time ago a more detailed account of Turkish operations near the mouths of that river, in the rear of Zimmerman's army. For what purposes those Russian forces have been kept for months, without a sign of life, in so unhealthy a region as is the Dobrudja, is, of course, not clear to us, but we presume that the preventing of a crossing by the Turks is their principal task, a secondary being not to allow Mehemet Ali to denude Silistria and Varna of their garrisons for the sake of strengthening his lines on the Lom. The western branch of this river has now again become the dividing line between the camps of the Turkish commander-in-chief and those of the Tzarevitch, the former having withdrawn to its east bank after the late encounter, forced to do so by rains and want of supplies, or by fresh reinforcements received by his antagonist. If Mehemet Ali's numerous attacks on the Crown-Prince were made with the intention of dealing a crushing blow at a main portion of his command, he has failed to achieve his purpose: if his object was by constantly harassing the enemy before him to prevent him from sending succor to the army fighting Osman Pasha in Plevna, he has fully attained it. In any case, either the force he could dispose of or his strategic skill seems to have been unequal to the task of cutting the long Russian line between Biela and the Shipka pass, which, if ably executed, would have doomed Radetzky's command to a speedy flight from the pass towards Selvi, if not to destruction. The Tzarevitch is now again extending his lines southward, but, though strengthened by portions of the Guard, he is said to be too weak for assuming the offensive.

THE ROCHESTER CONVENTION.

THE proceedings of the Republican Convention of this State at Rochester last week, whatever influence they may have on the coming election, are likely to prove very valuable as a contribution to the cause of reform, and as such are worth study. The Convention and its manager, Mr. Conkling, will probably do more to make clear to the people the nature of the evils from which the civil service, and through it the politics of the country, are suffering, than a year's preaching by orators and newspapers. No probable result of the introduction of the "spoils" system by Jackson was more confidently predicted, or more dwelt on from the very first by those who condemned it, than the deterioration in the quality of our public men. The event has certainly justified their provisions. There is, of course, as much ability in the country at one time as another; but the character of the men in power will always be determined by the nature of the means necessary to obtain power. If a high place in the public service is only to be had through fidelity, industry, interest in the great questions of the day, comprehension of them, eagerness to promote the legislation needed for their solution, and skill in the creation and maintenance of a healthy and enlightened public opinion on them, we shall have one kind of men for political leaders. If a high place in the public service can be had and kept through dexterity in intrigue, in "manipulation," in the distribution of patronage, the packing of caucuses and conventions, we shall have another kind. We have had since Jackson's day, and since the introduction of the "spoils" system, plenty of men of constructive power and high political aims in prominent positions; but they have had increasing difficulty in getting or keeping them, while the advancement of those who have really no taste for politics in the best sense of that term, but much skill in management and office-jobbing, has been becoming increasingly easy. The slavery agitation, while it unquestionably discouraged the growth of statesmen of varied interests and great constructive ability, like those who founded the government and moulded it into its present shape, at least brought to the front men of sincere convictions and lofty ambition. The Republican party was created and carried through the war by such men; and it was not until the close of the war and after the enormous multiplication of offices which the war caused, that the degradation of the civil service began to produce a distinct breed of politicians possessing no real interest in legislation, with but little disposition or capacity for the management of pressing public business, and relying almost wholly for success and prominence on the use of the Government service in the reward of personal followers.

Of this last class Mr. Roscoe Conkling is an excellent specimen. He came prominently on the stage just as the Republican party had secured a hold on power such as hardly any other party has ever had, and just as it had been placed in control of a vast and ill-organized army of employees and an immense revenue, and when the military successes and the heated condition of the public mind relieved public men of the necessity of displaying any higher qualities than zeal. As his good luck would have it, too, he made his way into the Senate from a State which had more Federal offices to bestow than any other in the Union, and he speedily became a very remarkable example of the kind of public men which the "spoils" system naturally produces; and his growth, as well as that of others of his kind, was greatly stimulated by the character of General Grant. Grant's ignorance of civil affairs, indifference to the proprieties of official life, and amenability to purely personal influences, opened a fine field to the professors of chicanery and jobbery, and secured for them what they could not have had under any other President—the shelter of a name endeared to the public by invaluable military services. Stripped of the use of patronage, and compelled to rely on purely personal qualities for popular appreciation, Mr. Conkling would have appeared simply a *nisi-prins* lawyer of the second rank, possessed of a coarse and turbid rhetoric fitted only for purposes of invective, destitute of any wide culture or varied or thorough knowledge, but little interested in the pressing poli-

tical questions of our own country or the drift of events in others, and without the least constructive ability or ambition. The title of Senator, however, and a large share of the appointing power (including the power of arbitrary dismissal), the unstinted support of the President, and the swelling port and indomitable conceit which impress the imagination of vulgar and needy followers, have really gone far to conceal these tremendous defects, and to enable him, in a way that at times has been almost comic, to excite the expectations even of the better portion of the Republican press, in spite of the fact that during the twelve weary years that have elapsed since the war not one contribution has he made, either in speech or legislation, to the removal of the woful confusion in finance and administration which that great and desolating struggle left behind it, except his share in creating the Electoral Commission last winter. Nothing in the political history of that period has been more curious, however, than the faith in his ability to do great things if he chose which he has been able to keep up. Whenever he has been silent for a while (and he is not a frequent talker), the Republican papers have been sure to begin to speculate in a childlike manner on what he was thinking about, and to hint that he would probably very soon produce the results of his meditations in a form that would let a flood of light into some dark corner of our politics and relieve the country of some heavy burden of anxiety; and at last to encourage him as the "great Senator" or "illustrious Senator" to come down and bring order out of chaos. When he did come down, however, it was almost invariably found that the subjects of his reflections in his retirement had been collectors, appraisers, gaugers, weighers, and tide-waiters, and that all he had to offer to the assuaging of great public troubles was a piece of violent abuse of the Democrats, sometimes in the form of naked vituperation of them, and at other times of equally naked glorification of his own party. When they thought him busy with Puffendorf and Adam Smith and Bluntschli, he was really busy with A. B. Cornell and Silas B. Dutcher. It is but fair to say, indeed, that he owes a good deal of his influence to the fulsome eulogies of many of the papers and men who are now abusing him.

Of course, as the passions of the war cooled, and the public grew more critical and the times became more trying, the successful performance of his rôle became more difficult, and he had begun to be generally recognized as a simple machinist before the Cincinnati Convention met—sufficiently so to make the attempt to nominate him there on a reform platform a somewhat ludicrous failure. But it was plain from the moment Hayes was elected that if he were the man his friends said he was, and made an honest attempt to execute the promises which the Republicans had been so many years making in their platforms, he would have Mr. Conkling for his bitter enemy. It was as idle to expect that the Senator would acquiesce in an attempt to place the Republican party on the path of constructive progress, to give it work of healing and reformation and improvement to do, as it would have been to expect Demetrius the silversmith to take the stump against Diana. To join Mr. Hayes in pacifying the South and reforming the civil service, would be helping to banish from the arena the subject with which he is most familiar, and to destroy the art in which he most excels.

It was the somewhat desperate condition of his political affairs, undoubtedly, which led to the revelation at Rochester of the undraped working of the machine; for the spectacle justified and illustrated nearly everything that reformers have been saying about civil-service abuse. A convention is, in theory, a body which *deliberates* on nominations, and is composed of free delegates from all parts of the State. When this one at Rochester met, however, it was found to be two-thirds composed of the adherents of Mr. Conkling and completely under his control, so that he did not even need to inform them of his intentions. As if to exhibit the full extent of his mastery over them, he produced a Mr. T. C. Platt, one of "his henchmen," as temporary chairman, to enable him to make a silly and abusive speech directed against the Administration, and then, departing suddenly from the revealed

programme, made him also permanent chairman, Platt's only title to distinction of any kind being his fidelity to Mr. Conkling. The convention, therefore, was really no more a deliberative body than if Messrs. Conkling and Platt only had composed it, and, meeting together in a room, had issued printed slips containing speeches, and nominated certain persons for offices; and yet the Republicans of the State will be bound to elect the persons so nominated unless they are ready to give the State to the Democrats. The only reason why Mr. Conkling is able to get up a convention of this sort, and not only set at defiance the preponderating opinion of the party, but violate the strongest party usage, by abuse of the President elected by the party, and by derision of the party platform on which he was elected, is his long hold on Government patronage, and the skill of the large personal following he has thus acquired in "controlling primaries." He is, in fact, himself the product of the abuse. As a politician of power and prominence, he is really a compound of collectors, appraisers, gaugers, and weighers. He is made up of them, and draws his whole sustenance from them. But we may be sure that if he had not felt that the end was approaching, he never would have shown the public as unblushingly as at Rochester the sources of his strength and influence, or stripped his rhetoric so completely, in his somewhat ruffianly attack on Mr. Curtis, of the tawdry embellishments and "amenities" by which he usually seeks to disguise its cheapness and flimsiness.

THE "CHEMICAL METHOD" IN POLITICS.

WE publish elsewhere a letter from "Merchant" closing a controversy with Mr. David A. Wells, to which we gave up a considerable portion of our space last week. Which of the two disputants has had the best of the fight as to facts we must leave our readers to decide. We cannot, however, let "Merchant" pass from the scene without saying a word upon a point which seems to interest him greatly, and on which he has indirectly based some reproaches against ourselves—namely, the "extraordinary processes of so-called reasoning" to which some people who have much to say about politics and political economy occasionally resort. We must point out to him, what he does not apparently perceive, that the process of "exclusion" which he accuses Mr. Wells of using improperly in advocating free-trade is one of which "Merchant" himself is guilty in advocating protection; that, in fact, there is no process which protectionists and loose-thinking politicians of all schools use so much, and that when applied to political and economical questions it is always misleading and often ridiculous. For instance: Mr. Wells (admitting that he speaks as absolutely as "Merchant" says he does) ascribes the smallness of our trade with Chili to our inability to compete with our commodities in the Chilian market with English rivals; and to the exclusion of any other cause. It is this, says he (on "Merchant's" assumption), and it cannot be anything else. Now, the objection to this process is that it cannot be properly used except where you have possession of all the facts without any manner of doubt, and can rearrange them, by way of experiment, so as to test the result by the Method of Agreement, or Method of Difference, or Method of Residues, as Mill calls them. It is, in fact, the Chemical Method, the application of which to social phenomena he ridicules in one of his chapters. Therefore, people who know how to reason on politics do not use it, and do not assert that their conclusions have more than an approximation to accuracy or are more than probable.

This Chemical Method is, however, the very one "Merchant" uses himself, strange as it may appear, and apparently without knowing it, touchy as he is about logic; for to Mr. Wells's assertion that the Chilians do not buy of us but of the English because they cannot sell to us, he opposes with equal absoluteness the much more untestable causes that "commerce moves in ruts"; that possession is nine points of the law; that "a course of trade once established is hard to divert"; that Manchester will stop at nothing to hold its own, and that the Chilians are of Spanish descent. This is the Chemical Method in its worst form, or,

in other words, "the process of exclusion" run into the ground. Mr. Wells's assertion admits of a closer approximation to proof, for it might be supported by a high degree of probability—such, for instance, as would be created by examining American traders with Chili as to the immediate cause of their inability to sell goods there, or by an investigation of the most prominent condition of all active international trade, which is undoubtedly, although "Merchant" talks as if he had never heard of it, the possibility of a double profit—that is, of gain on both sides in an exchange of goods—and of economical carriage in the existence of freight both ways. The absence of this condition in a given case does create a high degree of probability that it is the cause of non-intercourse. But to offer to substitute for this two or three generalizations, such as that the course of established trade is hard to divert, that Manchester manufacturers are enterprising and unscrupulous, and that people of Spanish blood are conservative, is the *à priori* method pure and simple. No logical examination of such assertions is possible. At best they can only strengthen an argument. You might argue in the same way that New England prosperity was due to its stony and barren soil; that Frenchmen had failed in Canada owing to the language, the Europeans near them, who spoke a different language, having succeeded; that the astonishing growth of English commerce and manufactures since 1750 was due to the rapid increase, *pari passu*, and great size of the national debt; that Turkey owed her present unfortunate condition to her low tariff (this assertion has actually been made in these columns by a protectionist), and so on.

We do not say that free-traders are not guilty of this kind of fallacy. All men who are greatly interested in any social or political movement are almost certain, in the excess of their zeal, to assign undue efficiency to some one agency, or make one agency out of many possible ones the cause of the whole body of effects known as the political or economical condition of a state. Sometimes the argument is ridiculous on its face; but usually it is plausible enough to produce a powerful impression. Protectionists use it as freely as any other school, and aggravate it by habitual and almost fanatical prophecy. They will not only ascribe national prosperity, in any given case, to high duties, but predict with great violence that high duties applied to any state of society will produce prosperity also. "Merchant" does this with the utmost freedom in both his letters. He promises without hesitation that if we stick to protection as long as England has, we shall eventually rob her of her foreign trade, and in his zeal—for the Chemical Method is rarely used in cold blood—accuses anybody who doubts it of a desire to assist Manchester, and mentions, as if it were a well-known fact, that we have as yet only tried a high tariff for "a year or two," or "a couple of years."

The various essays one reads from both sides on the causes of the prevailing business depression contain excellent examples of the Chemical Method in full blast. The free-traders, for instance, who ascribe it wholly to the high tariff, leave out of sight the fact that the depression exists in England, where there can hardly be said to be a tariff, and in Germany, where there is a moderate one. The protectionists, on the other hand, pretend that the object of the high tariff always was the production of low prices at home, and "point with pride" to the existing cheapness of everything, and the possibility of selling certain American goods abroad now which we were never able to sell before, as proof of the triumph of their system. It is not wonderful that in this confusion of opinions among doctors, plain people should doubt seriously whether there is such a thing as political or economical science. Nor is there, if by the word science we mean an exact science like chemistry or mathematics. In reasoning about social and political phenomena a properly-trained man is only reasoning about probabilities and tendencies, and only expects to approximate to accuracy. The one proposition an economist or politician can lay down with certainty is that security is necessary to prosperity. When he advances beyond this he has to be careful, and try to keep *all* the facts of the case fully in mind. For instance, if you assert that heavy taxation paralyzes

industry, you have to make allowance for national character and habits: the French, for instance, have never been so productive and prosperous as since the enormous burdens of the late war were laid on them. If you say that a low tariff will stimulate trade and industry, you have to enquire in any given case what kind of government there is behind the tariff: Turkey, for instance, has long been declining under free-trade. If you say that universal suffrage is the best basis for liberty, you have to enquire in any given case what kind of people the voters are, what sort of training they have had, and what their social and political ideals are. If you promise unlimited prosperity and happiness from high duties, or non-intercourse with foreigners, which is protection in its perfect form, you have still to account for the condition of the Chinese, and for the condition of the French in 1790, and for the present deplorable condition of trade and industry in the United States. It is in making these allowances, in balancing probabilities and marking tendencies, that political and economical judgment is shown, and not in working out geometrical conclusions from axioms of your own invention. But for the creation and maintenance of such a judgment evenness of temper is needed. What deprives the arguments of our Pennsylvania friends on all these subjects of most of their force is that they are apt to be produced in the spirit and language of fanaticism, with almost sacerdotal vehemence. If it were possible to deal with the facts of politics and trade as with the facts of chemistry, this would be of little consequence. It does not make any difference how frantic a chemical lecturer is, because he experiments before our eyes, and leaves out this and puts in that, until the desired result is produced. But in sociological investigations, where the elements in the calculation are innumerable and hard to get together, and where you may, if you please, exclude half a dozen of the most important without detection, a condition of holy indignation or furious patriotism deprives, or ought to deprive, a man's arguments of all weight.

NORTHERN SUMMER "RESORTS."

SEPTEMBER 28, 1877.

SUMMER resorts are mainly, indeed almost exclusively, called into existence for the benefit of city people. It is this class which needs them and which supports them. Hence we should expect that the best places of the kind would be not far from the larger cities. We should also expect that the class of city people needing such places would be a well-to-do class, confined to the city for most of the year and going into the country with entirely different notions of the proper way of living and enjoying one's self from that generally prevalent in rural communities, where life is monotonous and the scale of living very moderate. We should, in fact, expect to find them radically different from the ordinary country population, more fastidious, more careful of their comfort, expecting attention, civility, deference. We should also expect, correlatively, that the demand would create a supply, and that in the neighborhood of a city like New York, which has been in existence for over two hundred years and with its suburbs maintains a population of some two millions, there would be dozens of nice, quiet hotels or boarding-houses where these facts to which I have just adverted are recognized, and where no pains have been spared to render the places beautiful and attractive to the eye as well as comfortable. Yet far from this being the case, the whole attraction of the American "resort" proprietor or projector seems to have been directed simply to finding out some new spot remarkable for the height of its mountain or waterfall, the coolness of its air, or the health-giving properties of its waters, and putting up a big hotel and then letting it "run" itself. The whole south side of Long Island, within fifty or sixty miles of New York, has been managed in this way. This is the natural seaside resort of New York, but it is to this day as remote and uninviting as if it were two hundred miles away. Instead of being able to get into a car at Forty-second Street and, crossing the East River by tunnel or bridge, be in an hour at any part of this coast within forty miles, it is an expedition of some difficulty and much discomfort to get there at all: and when you get there, what do you find? Simply that on some long, low sand-spit a gigantic hotel has been built, at which very high prices are charged for obtaining, under circumstances of great discomfort, the opportunity of breathing pure air. Nothing has been done to render these places attractive. They are all exactly alike.

A place which might be expected by this time to have developed to an almost ideal excellence is the Catskills. It has been in existence a long time; it is within a hundred miles of the city; yet being on an elevated plateau, the temperature is always about twenty degrees lower than it is here; the scenery is picturesque beyond description; there are lovely walks, rides, and drives. I have often wondered why it is not thronged with people. This summer, in company with two fellow-sufferers, I discovered the reason. The place is in many respects typical, and I propose to give you the result of my experience.

Starting in the afternoon by an express train, we found ourselves, after between three and four hours, opposite Catskill village, on the Hudson, and apparently near our journey's end. This was about six o'clock. On the other side of the river could be seen our goal, and we congratulated ourselves in advance on the shortness of the journey. As a matter of fact, it had only just begun. One hour was consumed in getting across the river and waiting for the coach to drive up. I have preserved a diary of the next six hours, kept for my amusement in the manner of the author of "Happy Thoughts"; it is as follows:

Seven o'clock.—Mount the top of the Mountain House coach and dispose ourselves as comfortably as we can between one another's knees. The horses present an appearance which promises at least four and a half miles an hour unless the road is very steep. The agent of the hotel says "we shall be there in three hours."

First Hour.—Pass through Catskill village and into the country beyond. Village picturesque; somewhat Dutch in character; suggests reminiscences of Washington Irving, Rip Van Winkle, Jefferson, etc.; conversation lively and intelligent. Distance made in the first hour two miles and a half over an almost level road.

Second Hour.—Cooler; ask the driver how far it is; tell him we were told it was twelve miles to the top. He says: "More'n that." We beg to know how much more, but can find out nothing very definite. Road still almost level. Distance accomplished in second hour two miles and a half.

Third Hour.—Road still good; express surprise at slowness; driver gives no explanation. Horses have not yet turned a hair. Conversation flags. Very difficult to keep on top of coach. Conversation stops altogether. Signs of ill-temper on part of fellow-traveller, who is sitting on box-seat between my knees. Fall asleep, and dream of coaching in the olden time.

Fourth Hour.—Waked up by nearly falling off. Ask how far we have got. Find we have made two miles and a half. Road still level.

Fifth Hour.—Great and increasing discomfort. Suggest to driver that agent must have been mistaken in saying we should get there in three hours. Driver thinks he was. He never knew a coach to get there in three hours, not since he has been on the road. "Now, if it was coming down it would be different." Distance in fourth and fifth hours two miles and a half each.

Sixth Hour.—Driver points out "Sleepy Hollow" and Rip Van Winkle's chair, and begins to go slower. We ask why. He says it is because of the steepness of the road. We go at a walk the remainder of the way, which is really steep, and at half-past twelve arrive at the top of the mountain. Suddenly a fierce energy seizes upon the driver. He grasps the reins, excites his horses with voice and whip, and, getting the whole team into a gallop, dashes into the courtyard of the Mountain House at the rate of ten miles an hour.

I should prefer to draw a veil over the rest of the night, but truth compels me to go on. Four piratical-looking blacks appear at the door, and, taking possession of our baggage, disappear with it. The hotel is dark and dreary. Nobody is up but the sleepy clerk in the office, who informs us that we cannot have the rooms we telegraphed for (three separate single rooms), but only one single and one double room. This he tells us, not apologetically, but with that indescribable surliness of hotel-clerks which seems founded on an impression that the traveller is a noxious beast, fond of asking impertinent questions, and who must be answered as little as possible. We apologize to the clerk for the trouble we are giving him, and say that we should prefer single rooms, even if we have to go to the top of the house for them. He replies in a meaning tone that in that case we can have them; and one of the pirates, who has been lurking in the rear, immediately reappears upon the scene and leads the way to the top of the house. The rooms are three cells—neither bigger nor smaller than the cells in a well-regulated prison, and but little more comfortable. On seeing them we are seized with homesickness, and return to the office. Being a little in the rear, I get there just as the first of us has engaged the hotel-clerk in conversation and is charging him with his crimes, and is demanding better rooms. He describes in eloquent

terms our social position and standing at home, the iniquity of the treatment to which we are being subjected, and the certainty of punishment both in this world and the next. The clerk is so much amused by this that he bursts out laughing in our faces. The result of our negotiations is that at about one o'clock in the morning we succeed in getting into our original rooms. There is no lock on the door, though it is the ground-floor of the hotel. There is no water in the pitchers, and no towels. The blacks, very ill-looking fellows, crowd round, probably for their fees, but looking as if they were contemplating robbery and murder. We notice that there are no boots outside the doors (a rather alarming phenomenon, as it looks as if there were no one in the house but ourselves), and on enquiring the reason, are informed that "few people put their boots out," a custom explained the next day by the discovery that there is a regular charge for boot-blackening in the bill. At length we go to bed, and, not knowing very well what sort of a place we have got into, take the precaution of moving our trunks against the door to prevent a surprise.

Space would fail me to detail all the variety of suffering that the unwary traveller at Catskill has to endure. Does he wish to shorten the journey to the hotel by hiring horses? We were told that, in that case, the prejudice created in the landlord's mind by such an act of mutiny would be so great that no rooms would be given him until the arrival of the regular coach. Does he wish to change his quarters, and go to the Laurel House? It is almost impossible to obtain a conveyance. Does he wish to have a bath? There are no bath-rooms in the house, although the hotel will hold four or five hundred people. Does he take a long walk, and afterwards try to get something substantial for tea? He will be told (at least I was) by the head-waiter that "the cook says he isn't cooking now."

Now, the old American criticism upon this sort of thing used to be that it was the fault of the landlord, who was denounced as a monopolist, or as being "behind the times." And indeed this is true enough in this case. The road, for instance, seems to be entirely in his hands, and he keeps up his villanous line of Concord coaches, at two miles and a half an hour, when there is nothing in the world to prevent a railroad being built to the foot of the mountain, with a stationary engine to haul people to the top inside of an hour. But it is now generally admitted that the fault lies with the public quite as much. The public does not insist on its rights. Out of the three hundred or so people in the house at the time we were there I think our party was the only one that made any complaint. If you talked to them you found that they were aware of the existence of abuses, but, like people long accustomed to imposition, were very dimly aware of the possibility of effecting anything by complaints. The fact is that the reason why a supply of attention, care, consideration, and politeness does not exist at most of our Northern watering-places is that the demand does not exist. The public that goes to them has no fixed standard of comfort, and is not accustomed to insisting upon its being given them. Until this habit of requiring and insisting upon proper attention has been much more generally acquired throughout the North I do not see how Northern watering-places are to change materially their present character. Catskill may seem at first an exceptional case, but it is really an exaggerated type. The fundamental difficulties in the way of the creation of really comfortable watering-places at the North exist everywhere. At such a place as Catskill there is a faint effort at recognizing the fact that the city population which spreads itself over the country for the summer months has certain wants and tastes, and a certain standard of comfort of its own, which it is the landlord's duty not to repress but to satisfy. But one step further, and we find ourselves in the midst of a summer civilization in which there is not even a faint effort. Let any one who doubts this go to the Adirondacks and see for himself. He will find that the rural population which keeps the hotels in that beautiful wilderness (even as near as it is to New York) does not apparently suspect that there is not an absolute identity of tastes, feeling, acquirements, and standards of comfort between the people who come from the city for a week or two of country life and themselves. They have apparently no idea of the differences that are produced in people by different circumstances and modes of life. In the Adirondacks, at many of the hotels, if you ask a servant a question, it is ten to one that she sits down in the chair next to yours and proceeds to answer it as if she were an old and valued friend. At Mount Desert, where a sudden inroad of tourists, ten years or more ago, suddenly converted the place into a "resort," and every country fisherman's house into a "hotel," the native population were so wholly persuaded of the identity in feeling and taste

between themselves and their "boarders" that they did not even pretend to attempt any change in their manner of housekeeping, but went on cooking exactly the same unappetizing food and shaking down the same unendurable beds for the new-comers that they would have given to a lot of shipwrecked half-breeds from the lower St. Lawrence. They did not know any better, because they had led an out-of-the-way, barbarous existence so long that other ways of life were simply unintelligible to them.

From what I have said it follows that we shall never have thoroughly comfortable summer life in the United States except in places where the existence of a different standard of taste and comfort is recognized and acted upon. And this is not likely to be the case in any but exceptional places, unless the existence of such differences is insisted upon by the aggrieved tourist and pleasure-seeker in the most emphatic way. The American passion for making the best of everything, and standing imposition with a smiling face, however admirable it may be as a moral quality in the abstract, is fatal to the improvement of the hard lot of the travelling public; and the facilities for puffing every place of resort which the press now furnishes, makes it almost a duty to cultivate an unchristian, splenetic, and fault-finding spirit in dealing with people who entice us from the town at a large expense to spots where they promise to provide us with comfort and pleasure. Reform is needed in hotels. The hotel-keeper must be taught first of all humility, and if this can only be taught by the tourist's denying himself the self-sacrifice which he now practises, why, even at that cost, the lesson must be taught. When that point is gained he may be inclined to be guided by the experience of other countries, and learn that the great secret of his permanent success must depend, not on natural, uncultivated advantages of situation, but on the amount of thought, labor, attention, and civility he puts into his work.

A VICTIM.

THE INDIAN FAMINE.

LONDON, September 15, 1877.

THIS time last year this country was in a fevered state of generous enthusiasm. Mr. Gladstone was stumping the country and denouncing in impassioned language the cruelties perpetrated by the Turks, and every petty borough in the country was vying with its neighboring petty boroughs in its indignant testimony to its own virtue and its own abhorrence of all that was going on in a remote corner of Europe among certain half-civilized tribes, regarding whom this nation had no more responsibility than four or five other European nations quite as powerful and probably quite as generous as ourselves. The usual thing in England followed these enthusiastic outbursts. Committees of sympathizers with the sufferers were got up to receive subscriptions, the favorite British antidote for every form of evil; and fussy or unscrupulous individuals, scenting notoriety from afar, put themselves forward as honorary secretaries, joint secretaries and treasurers, and the like, in order to handle and apportion the subscriptions and acquire a shortlived publicity thereby. Money poured in as usual, and the columns of the *Times* newspaper set out daily the lists of the benevolent who subscribed to the different objects, with the names of the honorary secretaries and joint secretaries in large print at the foot. Then arose jealousies among the different committees, and accusations and recriminations passed freely among the officials. Then the matter assumed a political aspect, as most public matters do in England. One party supported one side and the other party supported the other. Opposition committees were got up, and if one set of sufferers were to receive the usual English aid, in common fair play the other set were entitled to receive it also. If relief, pecuniary relief, was offered to the Bosnian refugees or the Bulgarian peasantry, so relief must be given to the houseless Circassians and the widows and orphans of the mutilated Mohammedans. A committee for the relief of the sick and wounded Turkish soldiers was overtrumped by a committee for the sick and wounded Russian soldiers; and so it goes on. It was the same thing in the Austro-Italian war, in the Danish war, in the American war, and in the Franco-German war. The British householder believes that subscriptions are a salve for everything, and accordingly he gets a nobleman to give his name for some benevolent enterprise, and puts his hand in his pocket, has his name printed as a subscriber in the *Times*, and feels that he has done the duty which England expects every householder to do.

But the British householder is not imaginative. If Sidney Smith was right in saying that it requires a surgical operation to get a joke into a Scotchman's head, it requires a series of such operations to affect the ordinary householder's imagination, unless the events come very close home

to him, or unless they are drilled into him by a man of Mr. Gladstone's influence and intensity. While we have all, led by Mr. Gladstone, been holding up our hands in pious horror over the massacres and death of some thousand Bulgarians—whether twelve or four thousand is disputed—and while we have been subscribing through six or seven totally distinct and jealous committees to the relief of these Bulgarians, millions (not thousands) of our fellow-subjects in India have been dying of absolute starvation, and we are only now beginning to realize the fact. The British imagination is always impervious to facts affecting India. You can interest the ordinary shopkeeper about any European country, or about America, even about Central Africa, more easily than you can about our Eastern dependencies. The Polar expedition of two years ago was more generally discussed than the Bengal famine of 1873, and the alleged neglect of Captain Nares to supply limejuice to his crews was more universally criticised than the abortive efforts of the Indian Government to contend with the ravages of the famine in Orissa. These things interest with a painful interest a small section of the community who have Anglo-Indian connections and sympathies, and among these classes it is probable that no subject is so universally discussed as the present distress in Southern India; but if you were to ask a hundred men, taken at random, belonging to the ordinary householder class, to mention the districts of India which were principally affected by the famine, I am perfectly certain that you would not find five who could give you an intelligent answer. Or if you asked them if they attempted to realize the horrible extent of the ravages which the absence of rain was inflicting upon a multitude of people more numerous than the whole inhabitants of Great Britain, they would simply gape at you in dumb amazement.

It is, in fact, almost impossible for any one who is not familiar with India to attempt to realize what is going on. According to a recent estimate in an English paper, it appears that in all the wars of the last twenty-five years, from 1852 to 1877, including the Crimean, the Italian, the Schleswig-Holstein, the American, the Austro-Italian, the Franco-German, and a few minor wars, the total loss of life amounted to 1,948,000, or, in round numbers, to a couple of million. That seems an enormous amount of death to have occurred by violent means in a quarter of a century. But what is anticipated with regard to the famine districts of the Madras Presidency? It appears from a letter in the *Times* of August 29, written by the editor of the *Madras Times*, that "it is absolutely certain that from two and a half to three millions of people will die" in the course of a very few months, owing to the harvest failures. Or, put in other words, it is contemplated that a population nearly as large as the whole population of Scotland will be swept away in the course of a few months by the cruellest of all deaths; and even that prospect fails to strike the imagination or stir up the emotions of the inhabitants of Great Britain to anything like the extent that the violent deaths of a few thousand Bulgarians affected them last year. Not that I should wish for a moment to extenuate the crimes perpetrated by the Turks in a time of panic, or the barbarous way in which they executed vengeance upon the Christians. What I complain of is the amazing disproportion between the spasmodic outburst of emotion last year with the callous *insouciance* regarding a much more tremendous catastrophe affecting our own people, or at least our fellow-subjects, this year. It is impossible to suppose that Mr. Gladstone is unaware of the suffering among these millions of people over whom he only four years ago, when Prime Minister of England, exercised a sort of quasi-sovereignty. Yet, though he addresses multitudes of admiring countrymen two or three times every week among the pleasant glades of Hawarden, he never even alludes to the subject. His mind is still filled with his one idea of the iniquity of Turkish rule, and the insufferable lot, as it appears to him, of a section of semi-civilized and wholly abject Christians of the Greek Church. He cannot turn aside to say a single word on a much greater horror that is being carried out before his eyes; and his admiring countrymen follow suit. How far the Indian Office at home would wish the catastrophe of the famine to be kept in the background I cannot say. No doubt they are doing all they can to relieve the sufferings of the famine-stricken district. But it is somewhat remarkable that no official despatches have been published on the subject, and no discussion of it, hardly any allusion to it, has been raised in Parliament. It is perhaps only natural to expect a great bureaucracy like the Indian Administration to make as light of the matter as they can. Reticence in such a case is only to be looked for, because publicity is abhorrent to all bureaucracies. There is nothing that they dread so much as public criticism.

That the Indian Government is doing its best to mitigate the cala-

mity now that it is upon them, no one doubts; but what every one does doubt is whether they are taking any steps to prevent the recurrence of similar calamities. These famines have been periodical in certain parts of India for centuries. The Deccan was visited by one upwards of two hundred years ago, when, according to a historian of more recent times, "hundreds of thousands emigrated, and many perished before they reached more favored provinces; vast numbers died at home; whole districts were depopulated, and some had not recovered at the end of forty years." There are districts now which are deserted and absolutely barren where at one time it is certain that large populations flourished. In late years we have had three serious visitations—the famine in Orissa, where through mismanagement multitudes of men, women, and children perished; the famine in Bengal, where the orders were given that, cost what it might, no lives were to be lost. The order was carried out to the letter. The loss of life was small, but the loss of money squandered away was counted by millions. In the famine now ravaging Southern India the orders, it is said, are a sort of compromise between the neglect in Orissa and the profusion in Bengal. Everything is to be done to save life consistent with a reasonable economy. Money for the present emergency can easily be procured if money be wanted. The Indian Government, though already heavily burdened, can easily borrow five or ten millions at almost a nominal rate of interest—certainly at four per cent. But every penny added to the Indian debt (mostly subscribed in England) is only an additional premium upon a mutiny, and an increase upon the taxation of a needy population. If any alternative can be found it ought to be adopted. The only alternatives are imperial grants and private subscriptions. As to the first there could be no difficulty so far as Parliament is concerned, though the present Government might not like to increase the national debt even by a few millions, if they could burden India instead of England. If even now they were to advance the requisite amount they might safely calculate upon an easily-earned indemnity when Parliament reassembles. It is, however, improbable that they will do so. Private benevolence remains. Subscriptions are pouring in, but, in comparison with the magnitude of the want, by dribblets. Something like £150,000 has been subscribed. Ten times that amount might very well be expended. But people whose sympathies have been excited, and whose balances at their bankers have been lowered, by suffering Bulgarians, refugee Bosnians, Turkish sick, and Russian wounded, cannot be expected to show much interest in, or spend much money upon, a few million starved and famine-stricken Hindoos, even if they be their fellow-subjects. Lord Macaulay, I think, says somewhere that there is "nothing more absurd than the British nation in one of its fits of enthusiasm." We saw it in a fit of enthusiasm, this time last year, willing and eager to stake its existence on the downfall of the Turk. We see it this year reacting from this fit, and subscribing hundreds for its Indian subjects, where thousands or even millions are required.

RENAN'S GOSPELS.

II.*

PARIS, Sept. 3, 1877.

I HAVE shown that the Gospel of St. Matthew is not only an amplification of the Gospel of St. Mark, but that many important additions are to be found in it, which are, so to speak, the condensation and consolidation of the legend which was formed after the death of Jesus. Renan regards this Gospel as "the most important book of Christianity—the most important book that ever was written. . . . In one sense, the composition of the Gospels is, after the personal action of Christ, the capital fact of early Christianity—I may add, of the history of humanity. The book habitually read by all the world is a book in which the priest is always found in fault, in which the cultured men are all hypocrites, in which all the lay authorities are rascals, in which all the rich are damned. This book, the most revolutionary and dangerous that ever existed, has been prudently put aside by the Catholic Church, but this church could not hinder its bearing its fruits. The Gospels, severe towards sacerdotalism, scornful of austerity, indulgent towards the weak man who has a good heart, have been the perpetual nightmare of the hypocrite. The evangelical Christian has been an enemy of pedantic theology, of hierarchical pride, of the ecclesiastical spirit produced by the ages. The Middle Ages burnt him. Even now the grand invective of the twenty-third chapter of Matthew against the Pharisees is still the biting satire of those who cover themselves with the name of Christ, and whom Christ, if he came back to the world, would pursue with his whips." Everything seems

* See the *Nation* of Sept. 20. |

to show that the Gospel was written in Syria for some Jews who knew little of Greek. It was attributed to St. Matthew, but the apostle was dead when this Gospel appeared.

Nothing is more interesting than Renan's account of the progress of Christian doctrines and ideas in the Roman world. There had been a sort of tolerance under the Flavians. The Christian ideas—we ought rather to say, the Judeo-Christian ideas—found their way into the imperial family after Titus, under the cruel despotism of Domitian. Many persons of the Roman aristocracy opened their ears to the new teaching; the Gospels were to them a sort of ideal refuge against the horrible cruelty of a ruler who seemed to be the incarnation of all evil, and who understood no other duty than to give ignoble pleasures to the multitude. The Jews lived in the suburbs of Rome; they had to pay a special tax—the *fiscus judaicus*. Many Romans probably felt for them the sort of morbid curiosity which draws so many Russian aristocrats of our day towards communists and socialists. They left the old town of Servius Tullius, and roamed near the Egerian fountain. The collectors soon found that there were many men in this suburb who lived Judaically, though they were not real Jews. The *fiscus judaicus* was extended to all those who led what was then called a Jewish life. Josephus, who was a favorite at court, wrote the life of the Jewish people.

About that time one of the Christians of Rome undertook to write a Gospel for the Roman Church. This Gospel is known under the name of the Gospel of Luke. It is admirably analyzed by Renan. Lucanus, or Lucas, had followed Paul to Macedonia, had remained in Rome after the death of Paul; and his Gospel is thoroughly imbued with Paulinian ideas. "It is surely by mere conjecture," says Renan, "that we connect Luke and his Gospel with the Christian society of Rome at the time of the Flavians; but it is certain that the general character of the work of Luke agrees very well with such an hypothesis. Luke has a sort of Roman spirit; he likes order, hierarchy; he has a great respect for the centurions, for the Roman functionaries, and loves to represent them as sympathetic towards Christianity." Luke was probably ignorant of the Gospel of Matthew, but knew the Gospel of Mark. Living in Rome, he writes for the Gentiles; he does not speak of the Old Law; his Christianity is open; he writes for the oppressed of all nations, for the poor, for the people; he is a pure *Ebionite*; his Gospel is the hymn, the hosannah of all sufferers.

If you look at it from this point of view, you will find how naturally it takes its place under the ferocious and wicked Domitian. From childhood the brother of Titus had hated with an intense hate whatever was good, wise, reasonable; he abhorred all philosophers; they appeared to him like mute critics of his own selfishness; he liked evil as naturally as men eat bread. As soon as his imperial eye fell on the poor Jews and Christians of the suburbs, he was inclined to persecute them as naturally as a mischievous boy torments an insect. He did not admit that there could be any other religion and piety than the adoration of himself; was he not a god, and what gods could be better than himself? The *pious* Roman was the man who worshipped the emperor. Could there be anything more insulting to this all-powerful brute than the impudence of men who adored other gods than the gods of whom he had constituted himself the patron and protector? If many of the good emperors sincerely believed that the new doctrine was dangerous, what could Domitian think of it?

The persecution began, and this time many victims were found in the higher classes of society. The blood of the martyrs did not flow in vain, and we soon find the Roman Church drawing more strength from it. The time was approaching when the Church must come out of what may be called the atomic state and receive an organization. A discussion began between the Church of Rome and the Church of Corinth, where the Greek spirit was uppermost—the frivolous and undisciplined spirit which did not respect hierarchy, and was open to perpetual inspiration and illumination.

"The great problem was near: what constitutes the Church? is it the people, the clergy, or the inspired prophets? The question had been already put in the time of Saint Paul, who had solved it in the true manner by mutual charity. Catholicism had its origin in Rome, since the Church of Rome traced its first rule. Precedence does not belong to spiritual gifts, to science, to distinction; it belongs to hierarchy, to the powers transmitted through canonical ordination, which goes back in an uninterrupted chain to the apostles. It was felt that a free church, such as was conceived by Jesus and by Saint Paul, was an anarchical utopia, which could produce nothing for the future. With evangelical liberty disorder was dreaded; it was not foreseen that with hierarchy uniformity and death would come in the end."

Renan believes that Domitilla and the family of Flavius Clemens entered into the conspiracy which put an end to the reign of Domitian; though Ju-

venal only says: "He could safely deprive Rome of its noblest souls, and nobody took arms to avenge them; he perished when he took it into his head to become an object of dread to cobblers. Thus was lost a man covered with the blood of the Lamias." All his statues were broken, his triumphal arches demolished; all was over with the *Flavia gens*. Domitilla ended her life in obscurity; her posterity can be traced till the end of the third century; her family vault became one of the first Christian catacombs.

Under Nerva the Church of Rome was quiet and prosperous. The Jews continued to be tormented with Messianic and Apocalyptic ideas. The Apocalypse of Ezra was published under this reign; the Christians read it with avidity. Ezra may be considered as the last prophet of Israel. The adoption of Trajan by Nerva was an event of great importance in the history of Christianity. As Renan says, "The age of monsters was past. The lofty race of Julius and of the families allied to him had shown to the world the strangest spectacle of folly, of greatness, and of perversity. The poison of the Roman blood seemed now exhausted. All the malice of Rome had transpired. It is the nature of an aristocracy which has led a disorderly life to become in its old days orthodox and puritan. The Roman nobility, the most terrible that ever existed, henceforth has extreme refinements of virtue, of delicacy, of modesty." This transformation was partly the work of Greece, of the moralists, and of the philosophers. For a hundred years it seemed as if philosophy was going to govern the world. The work of legislation was never so perfect, so exhaustive.

This epoch is very interesting, as it shows a curious mixture of democratic and of aristocratic ideas:

"The opinion of the politicians of the time is that power belongs, by a sort of natural delegation, to the most honest, sensible, moderate men. This designation is made by fate; once *'fatis designatus'*, the Emperor governs the empire as the ram his flock or the bull his herd. With all this, the most republican language; in very good faith, these excellent rulers believed that they realized a state founded on the natural equality of all citizens, a royalty which had for its basis the respect of liberty. Liberty, justice, respect of opposition were their fundamental maxims. But these words, borrowed from the history of the Greek republics, had not much sense in the real history of the time. Civil equality did not exist; the Roman or Italian aristocracy preserved all its privileges; the Senate, reinstated by Nerva in its rights and dignities, was as much shut off as ever; the *cursus honorum* was the exclusive privilege of the nobles."

These noble families had alone preserved some of the old virtues of the republic; they had alone resisted the Oriental, Egyptian, and Syrian favorites of Caligula, of Claudius, of Nero. Christianity had suffered from the contempt in which the Roman aristocrats held all Oriental influences. Twice, under Nero and under the Flavians, some Jews and Christians found their way into the imperial household. From Nerva to Commodus there was a gulf between the Jewish doctrine and the throne:

"Trajan, Adrian, Antoninus, Marcus Aurelius held themselves with regard to Judaism and Christianity at a sort of haughty distance. They don't know them, do not care to study them. Tacitus, who writes for the world, speaks of the Jews as of an exotic curiosity, a thing quite unknown to those for whom he writes, and his mistakes are surprising. . . . History must speak with respect of the honest and courageous politicians who dragged the world out of the mire into which it had been thrown by the last Julius and the last Flavian, but they had the imperfections which naturally grow out of their qualities. They were aristocrats, men imbued with traditions, with prejudices, like the English Tories, who draw their strength from their very prejudices; they were profoundly Roman. Convinced that whoever is not wealthy or well-born cannot be an honest man, they did not feel for the foreign doctrines the indulgence which had been felt by the Flavians, who were much more *bourgeois*. Their society, the men who share the power with them, Tacitus, Pliny, have the same contempt for the doctrines of the barbarians. During the second century an abyss seems to separate Christianity and the official world. The four great and good emperors are directly hostile to it, and it is only under the monster Commodus, as under Claudius, Nero, and the Flavians, that we shall find again 'Christians in the house of Caesar.'"

The persecution which began against the Christians was administrative and permanent, not bloody and temporary. The Christians were constantly acting in violation of a law on associations; they were guilty of sacrilege, of offence against the majesty of the emperor, of nocturnal meetings. There were, besides, all the *flagitia nomini coherencia*, all the crimes connected with the very name of a Christian, of a *publicus hostis*. The persecution became a sort of a low fever which lasted during the second and during the third century, till it ended in the terrible crisis of the beginning of the fourth century.

This fifth volume of Renan's great work ends with the reign of Trajan. He shows the part which was taken by the Jews during the great expedi-

tions of Trajan in the East, how the Christian church and the synagogue became more widely separated. While Christianity became more and more Latin and Greek, the Jews shut themselves completely up in an unintelligible Syro-Hebraic dialect. In his sixth volume, Renan will relate the history of Christianity under the reign of Adrian and Antoninus, the beginnings of gnosticism, the composition of the pseudo-johannine writings, the first apologists; show us how the episcopate became more and more important, how Christianity became more and more Greek and less Hebraic; how, finally, a Catholic church was formed by the union of the provincial churches, and how its central authority was fixed in Rome. The new Bible was then complete, and was called the New Testament. The divinity of Christ was recognized in all the churches except the Syrian church. Christianity had spread in every direction, in Gaul, in Africa. Christianity, in one word, is born, perfectly born; it is a child, it will still grow; but the child has all its organs, it lives in the open air; it is no longer an embryo.

Correspondence.

CHEAP AND EFFECTIVE INCREASE OF THE ARMY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Whatever of natural regret may follow the conviction that in this "favored country" some regular organized force is required to defend the people against the populace, the conviction undoubtedly exists at this time and is widespread, if not universal. So far as such necessity arises from the influence of un-Americanized foreigners the cause is not accidental or transient; and, whatever the cause, the possibility of the recurrence of such scenes as disgraced the nation a few weeks ago will undoubtedly induce some kind of action in the direction of an increased military establishment. Equally strong with the necessity for increased force is the necessity for the strictest economy of expenditure. The Army is now listening to the hosannas of "the tax-payer," who hails it as a saviour, but those who can remember the events of sixteen years ago will feel sure that the "crucify him" will speedily follow, and the more speedily and effectively the greater the cost of the Army.

The following is offered in the interests of military efficiency and, if you please, reform:

By recruiting each of the 430 companies now composing the line of the Army to 110 men, a force of 13,200 cavalry, 6,600 artillery, and 27,500 infantry is created, and then adding 500 men to the more than 2,000 non-combatants, an army of 50,000 men would be formed without creating a new organization or necessarily issuing a new commission, though some slight increase of majors of infantry might be advisable. Such an army would, doubtless, be sufficient for probable contingencies. Should a considerable portion of the army be garrisoned throughout the East—a proposition that seems now to be favorably received—its location near sources of supply would greatly diminish the cost of its maintenance, and the presence of troops where necessary, without the great expense of transporting them thither, would also lessen the expense, now enormous, of army transportation.

Such an increase will be opposed by many interests, most, if not all of them, non-military, but all of them powerful: (1) large numbers of men, many of them during the recent war soldiers of great experience and high character, and now capable of wielding great influence, will desire to obtain commissions in the army; (2) men in office, or from other causes influential in politics, and especially leaders of political parties, will desire the patronage which the distribution of offices will afford—those who remember Washington as it was in 1866 and 1867, will need only to recall the events of that period to bring the matter clearly before them; (3) the reintroduction of many former officers of the army, and the introduction of others from the South, will afford an excellent vent for incon- tinent desire to extend "conciliation." Concerning the advisableness of commissioning as the nation's special defenders those who sought, "mis-guidedly," to destroy it, no opinion is expressed, but to do it for any other than military reasons is to make of the army a sort of "Atelier National"—an organization as obnoxious to sound military reason as were the genuine "Ateliers Nationaux" to the laws of industry. The American people are so essentially unmilitary (a very different thing from lacking courage, which they certainly do not) that it is fair to infer that the right thing will not be done. Witness the military legislation, *passim*, of Congress, and the fact that no military question of moment is decided on strictly military principles.

This is submitted to a non-professional paper because I judge it to be quite in the line of the reform of the public service for which the *Nation* is contending to advocate that in the military service as in the civil the public weal is to be consulted, and not the advantages of individuals or of parties, or even the interests of conciliation, if any of these antagonize the public weal.

ADJUTANT.

TRADE AND DICKER.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: When some three weeks ago I sent you my little communication on the subject of Mr. Wells's fallacies I had no expectation of extracting from that gentleman the ponderous chapter on political economy which I see to-day in the *Nation*. I simply desired to call attention to the extraordinary processes of so-called reasoning to which the school of *à priori* theorists, of which Mr. Wells is apparently the leader, is obliged to resort to carry on its struggle against the course of events which has so completely falsified its former predictions. While it stigmatized protection as robbery which would for ever mulct the consumer to benefit a few manufacturers, and would prohibit production at prices to compete with England in foreign markets, protectionists held that protection sufficiently prolonged would create domestic competition, eventually reducing prices to the home consumer and then furnishing material for export. All this is coming to pass, but immediately our luckless theorists, tacitly conceding that the home consumer is not robbed, shift their ground and strive to hold the tariff responsible because in a year or two our manufacturers have not shown themselves able to divert the mighty currents of the world's commerce from the channels which have been widening and deepening for two centuries. Divested of much useless verbiage, the substance of Mr. Wells's labored reply is that England enjoys special advantages as the centre of the world's commerce, where the exchanges of the world are practically settled. This we all knew before, and we know, moreover, that she will struggle to the death to retain this position and these advantages, won by long and persistent effort under protection. It is curious to see our free-trade champions, in their eagerness to assist her, actually assume that protection must fail to do here what it has accomplished there, because we have not in a couple of years overthrown the supremacy to secure which the almost undivided energy of the British people has been devoted since the time of Elizabeth. Be patient, my impatient friends. Let us for a while longer foster our productive forces by insuring to them the benefit of our home market, and those forces in due time will carry their surplus production to every quarter of the globe.

While the logic of events has thus stifled the old free-trade rallying-cry of the robbery of the consumer, I cannot congratulate Mr. Wells and his followers on the auspices under which they have been forced to invent their new slogan. When the highest authority in Germany is repeating with admiration to his countrymen the lesson which he learned at the Centennial Exhibition as to our productive development, which he attributes to the protective system; when Swiss watchmakers are in despair at the competition of Waltham in the European markets; when Dutch houses which used to sell us leather are now buying our shoes; and when the great French Compagnie Transatlantique is negotiating for the construction of a first-class iron steamer on the Delaware, the times are unpropitious for the line of argument which Mr. Wells has been compelled to adopt. If he cannot command my convictions, he at all events has my commiseration.—Very respectfully,

MERCHANT.

PHILADELPHIA, September 28, 1877.

Notes.

MR. DARWIN pays a merited compliment to his good friend, our foremost botanist, Dr. Asa Gray, in dedicating to him his latest work, on the "Different Forms of Flowers in Plants of the Same Species," which the Messrs. Appleton will republish here.—Professor E. A. Grosvenor, of Robert College, Constantinople, is translating Dr. A. G. Paspatis's "Byzantine Studies," an archaeological work which has been some fifteen years in preparation, and was composed in Greek. The translation will be published shortly in London.—A sketch of the Life of Dr. James McHenry, read before the Maryland Historical Society last November, by Frederick J. Brown, has just been printed in pamphlet form in Baltimore. Dr. McHenry's name recalls to the present generation only the Baltimore fort whose defence in the war of 1812 inspired Key's "Star-Spangled Banner." He was, however, Washington's aide-de-camp and secretary, La

Fayette's aide-de-camp, the intimate friend of Gen. Greene and of Alexander Hamilton, and Secretary of War under Washington and Adams. Mr. Brown reproaches Mr. Chas. Francis Adams with injustice to McHenry in his life of his grandfather.

—We have had in type for some time, but find ourselves unable to print for want of space, a letter from Dr. Selah Merrill, of Andover, Mass., controverting some of our criticisms on his reports in the Fourth Statement of the Palestine Exploration Society. We regret our inability the less because we see no reason for changing our opinion on the main points in dispute. We were, however, in error in saying that the situation of Tell Ektanu is not indicated on Dr. Merrill's map; and we cite here the closing paragraph of his letter:

"My second expedition, which the notice calls a 'hasty trip,' occupied eighty-one days of severe work. This was after Col. Lane left the country in December, 1875, and since that time I have made three different expeditions, the results of which I have not yet had time to put into shape for publication."

—The results of the Harvard Examinations for Women conducted in this city last June have just been reported by the examiners to the local committee. As the so-called Advanced Examination is only open to those who have previously passed the Preliminary Examination, the latter alone could be held in this the first year of the New York examinations. Further, it might be taken as a whole, or divided between two years, at the option of the candidate. Three out of the eighteen young women who presented themselves took the Preliminary Examination as a whole, and two of these passed in all the subjects; the third was deficient in two (out of nine) subjects. Of the remaining candidates, twelve passed in their (four or five) chosen subjects, and three failed. No record is made by the University of the results of a partial examination, unless a candidate has passed satisfactorily in at least three subjects. On the whole, this beginning must be regarded as auspicious; for one thing, it ensures the holding of the Advanced Examination next year. The examiners report that they were not struck by any failures or shortcomings characteristic of the sex—that is, such as might be expected of women from their defective training.

—In the hope that a larger number of candidates will prepare themselves for the examinations of June, 1878, not only in this city but elsewhere, we give here the addresses of the secretaries of the several local committees, from whom blank forms for either examination, and all necessary information as to fees, papers, and conditions, can be obtained: 57 East Twenty-fifth Street, New York; 114 Boylston Street, Boston; 401 South Eighth Street, Philadelphia; 372 West Fourth Street, Cincinnati. The Preliminary Examination will cover parts of two weeks; the Advanced Examination will occupy less time, proportionate to the number of subjects chosen. The local committees provide board and lodging at moderate cost, and will also in deserving cases lend pecuniary aid. For next year the Preliminary Examination will embrace English and French, with German or Latin or Greek; Physical Geography; Elementary Botany or Elementary Physics; Arithmetic, Algebra through quadratic equations, Plane Geometry; and History. No young woman under seventeen can take this as a whole, nor any under sixteen in part. None under eighteen can take the Advanced Examination, which will be in five sections (in one or more of which the candidate may present herself), namely: *Languages*—any two of English, French, German, Italian, Latin, Greek; *Natural Science*—any two of Chemistry, Physics, Botany, Mineralogy, Geology; *Mathematics*—Solid Geometry, Algebra, Logarithms, and Plane Trigonometry (required), with any one of Analytic Geometry, Mechanics, Spherical Trigonometry and Astronomy; *History*—either the History of Continental Europe during the Period of the Reformation (1517-1649), or English and American History (1688-1800); *Philosophy*—any three of Mental Philosophy, Moral Philosophy, Logic, Rhetoric, Political Economy. It only remains to state that these examinations are designed to afford young women pursuing studies by themselves, with more or less limited opportunities, a test of their progress "by a strict and publicly-recognized standard," identical with that which is applied to men for the same kind and amount of work. The Harvard certificate, once obtained in any of the three degrees—"passed," "passed with distinction," "passed with the highest distinction"—may have a commercial as well as a moral value.

—On the motion of Prof. Alexander Hogg, of the Texas State Agricultural and Mechanical College, the National Educational Association, at its recent session at Louisville, passed a resolution urging the general Government to consider speedily "the feasibility of donating a portion

of the public domain for the endowment and maintenance of at least one institution in each State and Territory for the higher education of women." Prof. Hogg would have these institutions styled and known in each case as "The State University for Our Daughters," and the fancifulness of this appellation gives an air of unreality to the whole scheme. We are far, however, from wishing to discourage any well-meant effort to improve the educational resources of the South and increase the desire for learning; and we are glad to see this solicitude for the women show itself amid the general striving for better instruction. We are disposed to think, too, that no better use could be made of the remnant of the public domain than to devote the proceeds resulting from the sale of it to the higher education, and that the North would not grudge the South the lion's share of the apportionment. Whether new universities for women should be founded, or the universities for men be strengthened and utilized after the manner of the Harvard examinations at first, and subsequently by co-education, is a question of detail which each State might be left to decide for itself.

—Our notice of Gen. T. L. Clingman's speeches appears to have led to the somewhat surprising discovery that Jacob Thompson, Mr. Buchanan's Secretary of the Interior, is still alive. He himself has given evidence of it by writing a letter to the *Memphis Appeal*, denying the truth of Mr. Clingman's account of his openly fomenting secession in North Carolina while still a member of Buchanan's Cabinet, and with the explicit sanction of his chief. He says that his motive in hurrying North Carolina into secession was to enable her to check the headlong action of his own State of Mississippi; for Mr. Thompson held that it would be highly indecent to secede under a passive and inoffensive Administration like Mr. Buchanan's. His errand was to that extent a Union-saving one, and as such seemed meritorious to Mr. Buchanan. Mr. Thompson's regard for appearances must still be judged one-sided, and he has not succeeded in contradicting Gen. Clingman, or in redeeming his own fame or Mr. Buchanan's. He would have done better to retort *tu quoque* upon his accuser. Senator Clingman never resigned his seat in the Senate, but used his position to promote secession until called upon to take part in its public counsels at the South, and he had not yet been expelled, even if he had at that time left the Capital, when, "as soon as Fort Sumter was taken, fearing there might be too much delay," he "telegraphed Governor Ellis to seize the Fayetteville arsenal." In February he had naively asked his colleagues: "Of what use is Fort Sumter to the Government of the United States unless it be to vex and harass Charleston?" And as early as March 22, 1850, while a member of the Lower House, forecasting civil war, he had published this childlike manifesto: "If there is to be a struggle, in any event, between the North and South, I desire that this, the common Government, may stand as a neutral. If I have power, I will, in that event, put this Government under bonds to keep the peace. As in that contest I know that the South will have the right on her side, I am not willing that the Federal army and navy shall be used against her." Holding these ideas of the nature of government, Mr. Clingman never dreamed of the propriety of resigning his seat in the Senate as soon as he had cast his lot with the secessionists; but Mr. Thompson's remaining an executive officer of a "neutral" Government while openly advocating separation, seemed to him so scandalous that he could not at first believe it possible.

—The following elegant epistle has been received by the dean of one of our Western universities:

"52 ZIMMERSTRASSE,
BERLIN, S. W., July 10, 1877,

"SIR: Herewith I take the liberty of requesting to know under what conditions you would be inclined to grant Diplomas of Doctor in absentia to worthy and qualified men. I know a very great number of such gentlemen for I am since many years agent for several Universities; by my experiences and discretion I have an intimate connection with them. I therefore can introduce you many persons who have the merits of being exalted by this academic dignity. I should be much obliged to you if you would specify the conditions of the promotion of all faculties and the modalities of paying the fees for I could place immediately some Diplomas and we lose to much time by a long correspondence in account of the great distance. If possible please also to send me a statute or an act of incorporation of your University. Expecting soon your kind answer I remain

"Sir yours respectfully

DR. OLSCHOWSKY."

—By some unexplained blunder in the *October Galaxy* the article that will better repay reading perhaps than any other is not to be found in the table of contents, and is not mentioned in any of the regular advertisements of the magazine. We refer to "The Tariff Question," by Mr.

Homage White, the paper read by its author at the recent Saratoga meeting of the Social Science Association. It is a thoughtful discussion of the causes and cure of the present commercial depression, and, as regards the latter, takes substantially the view of Mr. D. A. Wells in his late articles entitled, "How shall the Nation Regain Prosperity?" With regard to the causes of our existing difficulties, Mr. White dissents from the view which ascribes them solely to extravagance of expenditure, aggravated by a protective tariff and a vicious currency. Admitting all these as valid elements, he states the chief factor thus: "If badly invested capital or wasted and sunken capital is treated in the imaginations of men as having been well invested, as being saved and as available to meet future engagements, so that debts are contracted upon the basis of what does not in fact exist, we have one of the principal ingredients of the modern commercial crisis." Mr. Gideon Wells, in the "Administration of Abraham Lincoln," emphasizes Lincoln's disbelief in the equality of the white and negro races, their inability to live together in peace, and his desire to have emancipation succeeded by colonization and deportation. Mr. Lawrence Barrett criticises with some severity Mr. Alger's recent biography of Forrest, and pays a "tribute of reverent affection" to the actor. Several good stories, including one by Turgeneff, are to be found in this number of the *Galaxy*.

—In *Scribner's* for October an ex-member of Congress gives his "Experience in Post-Office Appointments," and if a few more members of Congress would but go and do likewise, the necessity of restricting Congressmen to legislative functions only would soon be made clear. To be compelled to select about one hundred postmasters from a thousand applicants would in itself seriously interfere with the legitimate duties of a member of Congress, but when the task is complicated by direct and indirect attempts at bribery, the solicitations of applicants and their conflicting claims, and the threats of newspaper editors, its absolute incompatibility with the functions of a legislator is at once perceived. The writer gives an interesting account, which would be extremely amusing if we could only read it as an invention of Mark Twain, of the way in which a strict regard for his duty in making post-office appointments set three different newspapers in his district at work defaming his character—a task pursued "with steady, malignant industry." An essay which has a special interest for clerical readers is that on "Christianity and Free Thought," by Mr. George S. Merriam. The writer argues that at a very early period in the history of Christianity "Christians came to believe that among the essential conditions of eternal salvation were membership in the visible church and acceptance of its rites, and also an implicit belief of all the doctrines set forth by authority of that body; that these ideas grew until they overshadowed the ideas of moral rectitude; and that the intensely sincere belief of mediæval Christianity was, that to be outside of the one Catholic Church, or to reject a single one of her many dogmas, was to incur eternal damnation." The Reformation, he believes, broke one strand of this twofold cord, but left the other as strong as ever—that is, while Christians ceased to believe in the necessity of submission to the Church's government, they still believed in the necessity of the acceptance of a dogmatic creed. The reformers had no thought of liberating men from the obligation of orthodox belief, and were extremely intolerant of differences of belief among themselves; nor has the church as yet outgrown this "exclusiveness of orthodoxy." Even in our modern Protestant churches an immense influence is exerted by the idea that well-founded hope of future salvation is possible only to those who substantially acquiesce in the body of doctrine set forth by the church. Our "professional teachers of religion are under the powerful influence of an inherited feeling that to disbelieve a certain general system of doctrine is to incur the risk of perdition, and are bound in conscience by that belief to give no countenance to any enquiry which is not pledged in advance to lead to the old conclusions." Not only is this, according to Mr. Merriam, unfavorable to free thought, but it is also unfavorable to genuine religious development, which makes or should make character central and supreme.

—There are, in publishing as in other trades, fashions to which the maker of books must needs conform. Just now the fancy of the hour seems to be for small books—so-called 18mos and 32mos. In Paris the publishing house which gave its name to the very handy size known there as the "format Charpentier" has now begun the issue of a series of booklets to be called the "Petite Bibliothèque Charpentier," and to contain the little masterpieces of De Musset, Mérimée, M. Jules Sandeau, and others. In America two series somewhat similar are now in course of

publication. Harper's Half-Hour Series already extends to some thirty little volumes; it includes short stories—Charles Reade's stirring yarn "The Jilt," for instance, and the separate "Stories of Clerical Life" of "George Eliot"; biographical studies—Motley's "Peter the Great," from the *North American Review*, for one; historical sketches, such as the set of "Epochs of English History"; literature primers; cooking receipts from *Harper's Bazar*; etc. It will be seen that the scheme of the series is comprehensive, and that almost the only requisite for admission is brevity. Messrs. J. R. Osgood & Co. are issuing a more distinctly literary "Vest-Pocket Series"—a somewhat unlovely name, suggestive, perhaps, of the Breeches Bible or of the "linen-duster" in which the Leisure-Hour Series is clothed. The "Vest-Pocket Series" is devoted almost wholly to reprints—complete poems, like "Evangeline," "Vision of Sir Launfal," "Ancient Mariner," etc.; or selections of "Favorite Poems" of Hood, Holmes, Browning, etc.; or essays, like Emerson's "Nature," Lowell's "My Garden Acquaintance," and Mr. Howells's "A Day's Pleasure"; or brief biographies, like Mr. Fields's essays on Dickens and Barry Cornwall. Among these last is the essay on "Thackeray's Literary Career" by Dr. John Brown, of Edinburgh, which has always seemed to us the best, because the most appreciative—using the word with exactness—of all the many attempts at his life.

—All the earlier numbers of the "Vest-Pocket Series" were reprints, but among the later issues is a hitherto unprinted play, of which the title-page reads: "Mr. Nightingale's Diary: A Farce in one act. By Charles Dickens." On the next page we are told that it was first performed at Devonshire House, London, in 1851. But Forster, in his life of Dickens, tells us that "Mr. Nightingale's Diary" was written by Mark Lemon. Dickens had intended writing a farce to follow "Not so Bad as we Seem" at the performances for the benefit of the Guild of Literature and Art, but he had no time, and recourse was therefore had to a new farce of Lemon's, to which Dickens made so many additions that he might almost be considered its joint-author. The result of this virtual collaboration of Dickens and Lemon is "Mr. Nightingale's Diary." When acted by its two authors it was productive of the most tumultuous mirth. It is, indeed, an excellent farce. Mr. Howells called his "Parlor Car," also published in this series, a farce, which it is not, but a comedy. It is altogether too light and bright, and its methods are too delicate and refined, for farce. Although it is in one act, it is a comedy, just as many so-called comedies in three or five acts are in fact farces. "Mr. Nightingale's Diary" is really a farce. It is very funny, and it affords excellent opportunities to the two leading actors, who appear and reappear in various disguises, each seeking to circumvent the other. It is rather remarkable that Dickens, with all his love for the stage, did not make more direct efforts as a dramatist. His novels have been put upon the stage again and again, and sometimes with his assistance. But from the beginning of his literary career, when he wrote a comic opera, to near the end of it, when he collaborated with Mr. Wilkie Collins in writing "No Thoroughfare" for Mr. Fechter, he did not put his name to a single play. Perhaps it is not to be regretted. He seems hardly to have had the feeling of form as fully as the dramatist needs must have it.

—The Association for the Reform and Codification of the Law of Nations, at its Conference at Antwerp, Aug. 30-Sept. 3, made substantial progress, especially in the department of private international law. About 130 members were in attendance, among them special deputations from the Lloyds of London and of Germany, and the Chambers of Commerce and Boards of Underwriters of London, Liverpool, Hull, Glasgow, Amsterdam, Antwerp, Christiania, Berlin, New York, and New Orleans. The Conference was presided over by Lord O'Hagan, late High-Chancellor of Ireland, who showed remarkable energy in the despatch of business and tact in disposing of talkative bores. A large section of the Conference devoted three days to the subject of General Average, and reached the following conclusion, which was adopted by the Association: that the rules of general average adopted at York in 1864, and revised by this body, be recommended as the basis for a uniform system of general average, under the title "The York Rules, as revised at Antwerp." The changes in the York Rules are these: Rule 1. "No jettison of deck-cargo shall be made good as general average." Rule 3. It is added that "no compensation shall be made for damage done by water to packages which have been on fire." Rules 7 and 8. Goods sold at a port of refuge are not to be exempted (as by the York Rules) from contributions to general average. Rule 10, as amended, provides that the gross freight shall contribute to general average, "subject to the deduction of such port charges and crew's wages as would not have been in-

curred had the ship and cargo been totally lost at the date of the general act or sacrifice." A new rule is added, making the 12th. that "the amount to be allowed for goods sacrificed shall be that value which the owner would have received if his goods had not been sacrificed."

—The topic of the execution of foreign judgments, presented by Mr. J. G. Alexander, of London, was referred to a committee, to be reported upon at the next annual meeting. The same course was taken with the subject of extradition. These matters will be prominent next year. A *projet* of an international law of patent-right was submitted in part, and the following principles were laid down: "In no case should proof of prior use in another country, unprotected by a subsisting patent in such country, suffice to effect the refusal or invalidation of a patent"; "to place obstacles in the way of any class of inventors, whether foreign, colonial, or native, is a suicidal policy." A special argument, based upon justice and utility, was presented in favor of international copyright, and measures were taken for an appeal to the Government of the United States to put itself in harmony with the Governments of Great Britain, Germany, and France for this desirable end. A paper was presented by Mr. Henry Richard, M.P., on the "Obligation of Treaties," and another by Dr. Jos. P. Thompson on "Treaties as Matter of the Law of Nations," which led to an animated discussion, resulting in measures for bringing before governments the desirableness of an arbitration clause in every treaty. Sir Travers Twiss and Professor Sheldon Amos read papers on belligerent maritime law, and it was resolved that, "in view of the dangerous tendencies of the doctrine of continuous voyages as applied to contraband of war and blockade, especially as this doctrine is set forth in the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of the cargo of the *Springbok*, this Association is of opinion that the principles of the Declaration of Paris of 1856 should be firmly sustained, and made the basis of a wider application to the protection of neutrals." Messrs. Henry Richard and F. W. Chesson reported in favor of the principles proposed last year by Dr. Thompson for regulating the intercourse of Christian with non-Christian peoples. Dr. Bachiene, of the Hague, submitted a paper in the same spirit, recommending those principles as a special order of the day for the Conference of 1878. The International Tribunals of Egypt were strongly endorsed by the Association. A committee was appointed upon the subject of trade-marks, to report at the next Conference. This will probably be held in Paris, in August, 1878.

—The sixth volume of the "Encyclopædia Britannica," ninth edition (Boston: Little, Brown & Co.), shows more variety and symmetry than most, if not all, of its predecessors. Articles remarkable for extent and exhaustiveness are not numerous. The most conspicuous in this respect are "Coal" (36 pages), "Crustacea" (34), "Cotton" (26), "Costume" (26), "Clocks" (20), and "Corals" (18), all profusely illustrated; "Curve," "Conic Sections," "Comet," and "Cuttlefish." "Crusades" is the fullest of the few important historical articles. Geography is better represented by ample notices of Constantinople, Corea, Crete, Cuba, Damascus, the Danube, etc. The department of biography appears to still better advantage through lives, some of them short essays, of Comte (by John Morley), Condillac, Corneille, Cuvier, Cousin, Colbert, Danton, Columbus, Correggio, Dante, Cromwell, Davy, Coldden, Confucius, and others. Our novelist Cooper is spoken of with a kind of over-jealous British feeling, to which even the shadow of a pretension to place him side by side with Scott seems to be invidious. The lines on his unique creation, Natty Bumppo, deserve to be quoted, however: "In the dignity and simplicity of the old backwoodsman there is something almost Hebraic. With his native vanity and strong reverent piety, his valiant wariness, his discriminating cruelty [?], his fine natural sense of right and wrong, his rough, limpid honesty, his kindly humor, his picturesque dialect, and his rare skill in woodcraft, he has all the breadth and roundness of a type, and all the eccentricities and peculiarities of a portrait." The articles on subjects of classical antiquity are generally rather meagre. "Colchis" may serve as an instance, in which no such name as *Æa*, *Dioscurias*, or *Phasis*, and, in fact, no name of a town or river, is to be found. Biblical subjects are more exhaustively treated, and with a tolerable degree of critical freedom. This is chiefly noticeable in "Daniel," a learned dissertation by the Rev. T. K. Cheyne. The author of "David" is much more timid in handling his sacred subject, and it makes one almost smile to see with what gentle regard for old beliefs he leads the reader from the orthodox notion that all the psalms are the productions of that monarch to the bare "admission that the Psalter must contain Davidic psalms, some of which at least may be identified by judicious David's name in Hebrew, the only word in that language

which we have discovered, is misprinted, and we have also observed some similar inaccuracies in words belonging to the languages of Eastern Europe (several in "Cracow"); but on the whole the volume, which we have but cursorily examined, strikes us very favorably by a strong look of correctness and soundness.

FROUDE'S SHORT STUDIES.*

IS Mr. Froude content to sacrifice all claim to be a serious reasoner, and rest his reputation on his undoubted powers as a literary sentimentalist? This enquiry is suggested by the following passage, in which he describes the relation of the English clergy to political economy:

"For the working purposes of life they have," he writes, "allowed the Gospel to be superseded by the new formulas of political economy. This so-called science is the most barefaced attempt that has ever yet been openly made on this earth to regulate human society without God or recognition of the moral law. The clergy have allowed it to grow up, to take possession of the air, to penetrate schools and colleges, to control the action of legislatures, without even so much as opening their lips in remonstrance."

The bold stroke of rhetoric by which Mr. Froude slays, as it were, with one blow the two classes of men which he most detests—clergymen and political economists—excites the admiration of his readers until it is observed that the rhetorical triumph is attained at the expense of an extraordinary, though no doubt unconscious, perversion of facts, and an equally unconscious, though perhaps not equally extraordinary, confusion of ideas. The charge against the clergy involves what to candid minds must appear a perverted view of fact. Of all the offences which can be laid to the charge of Anglican ministers, the last which can be made with truth is the charge of leniency to political economy. What they could do to oppose its triumphs they have done. They have denounced Malthusianism. They have been the supporters of the unreformed poor-law. As a body they have been opposed to free-trade. That they could have hindered the spread of economical science if every clergyman had denounced it Sunday by Sunday from his pulpit may well be doubted. All the ministers of all denominations could not have prevented Englishmen from reading Adam Smith, Ricardo, and Malthus. Argument may be met by confutation, or at times by the brute force of persecution; but clerical denunciation would hardly even delay the progress of economical speculations. Be this, however, as it may, the English clergy have in this matter done their best. Mrs. Partington could not keep the Atlantic out of her house, but it were cruel injustice to blame her for the rise of the tide, or to deny that she made vigorous use of the mop and pail.

The accusation against the clergy may possibly be treated as a sportive display of paradoxical ingenuity. The allegation that the science of political economy is an attempt to regulate human society without the recognition of the moral law, involves a confusion of ideas common to Mr. Froude and the writers by whom he has mainly been influenced, and thus deserves somewhat careful attention. The answer to the assertion when put shortly is, that political economy is not an attempt to regulate society, or in any way, either good or bad, to deal with the moral law. The science (happily named by a recent writer Plutonometry) aims at ascertaining and stating the laws which regulate the acquisition and distribution of wealth. It is, directly at least, a mere enquiry into facts. Its conclusions, like the conclusions of any other science, are, in so far as they are correctly drawn, statements of fact. The rules, for example, laid down as to the nature of value, the theory of exchange, the law of rent, the effect of the subdivision of labor, and so forth, are statements in so far as they are correct, of the laws of wealth. To such laws or supposed laws the terms "true" or "false" are of course applicable, but to intimate that they are moral or immoral is as out of place as to talk of the morality or immorality of the Latin grammar or multiplication-table. In order to apply to economical science the expressions used by Mr. Froude, you must suppose that to teach men the laws of wealth is the same thing as to teach them that the acquisition of wealth is the end of life. It is difficult not to conclude that some notion of this kind runs through Mr. Froude's mind. A certain monk, of whom he writes and who nowadays would certainly be sent to the tread-mill for his frauds, was accused by his brethren "of buying in the cheapest and selling in the dearest market, and pocketing his gains," which, it may be added, were not his, but belonged to the abbey. "It is interesting," writes Mr. Froude, "to find a man charged, as if it were a crime, with having acted on the cardinal maxim of the modern science of sciences." The comment is unmeaning, unless Mr. Froude believes that it is a "maxim" of political economy

* Short Studies on Great Subjects. By J. A. Froude, M.A. Third series. London: Longmans; New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 1877.

that men ought in every case to look to no other consideration than that of pecuniary gain. The science, in fact, teaches or rather points out that wealth is made by buying cheap and selling dear. Mr. Froude turns the statement into a maxim that men ought always to buy cheap and sell dear. Here in a special instance is exhibited the confusion of thought which leads to the astounding conclusion that political economy attempts to regulate society without God.

The origin, however, of intellectual confusion is almost always something deeper than the fallacy in which it is expressed. This is so in the present case. The doctrines of economical science are in themselves neither moral nor immoral; but economical truth, like all other truth, has undoubtedly a bearing on moral practice. The conclusions of political economists have, for example, modified the mode in which men of sense practise charity. An examination into the effect of protection has certainly changed our estimate of the beneficial effect of legal interference with laws of trade; and, speaking generally, the tendency of political economy is to encourage under the circumstances of modern European society the so-called doctrine of *laissez-faire*. This doctrine, based on the assumption that on the whole men's interests are not antagonistic, is the abomination of Mr. Froude and his school. That it is opposed to their whole view of society is undoubted, and that it gives the bias which perverts their view of political economy is a probable conjecture. It must also be admitted that the doctrine may be so misconceived as to appear to give a scientific sanction to general selfishness; but that the rules of political economy have on the whole this tendency is a palpable error. Political economists denounce indiscriminate charity, but to point out the evil of alms-giving is really to stimulate men to far more difficult efforts of benevolence than what is after all the very easiest form of displaying compassion. Even the much-abused rule, that the way to gain wealth is to buy cheap and sell dear, may be expressed in the quite harmless statement that it is a benefit to the world to obtain, for example, corn from Americans who need broadcloth and do not want corn, and bring corn to Englishmen who need corn and can supply broadcloth. Nothing, again, is more thoroughly selfish than the theory of protection which assumes at bottom that the loss of A. is the gain of B.; nothing more unselfish than the economical doctrine that free-trade is a gain to A. because it is also a gain to B. The attempt, indeed, of writers like Bastiat to show an exact harmony between the rules of political economy and the demands of absolute justice involves, like the opposite error of Mr. Froude, a confusion between economical rules and moral precepts. But the exaggerated optimism of the French writer calls attention to the fact that the so-called dismal science has its moral side. We are not inclined to canonize Mr. Cobden; he was neither an original political economist nor a statesman, but he seized the moral aspect of economical truth, and triumphed because he brought moral enthusiasm into the struggle against the organized selfishness of protection.

But Mr. Froude is, perhaps, only half in earnest when he denounces political economy. He himself can, on occasion, come forward as a professor of the "dismal science," and argues in support of a landed gentry with the arguments of the strictest and most orthodox sects of economists. "In a free country like ours," he writes, "the distribution of land depends on economic laws as absolute as the law of gravitation. So long as the British nation continues as it is, the landed gentry are as fixed a part of it as the planets of the solar system." The thesis which Mr. Froude maintains is in the main sound. It is, however, unfortunate that, after the manner of a convert, he should rush from one extreme of belief to the other. The laws of political economy are not in any sense opposed to the moral law. That Mr. Froude should at last see this is well; but economic laws of the kind he has in view are not as immutable as the law of gravitation, for the distribution of land depends in part on legal enactments, on social habits, and generally on the sentiment of a given society. Nor, again, is there, as Mr. Froude seems to conceive, any connection between the freedom of the country and liberty of bequest. Let us add that it is rash in the student of a science to which he has only lately turned his attention to dogmatize on points where his teachers are in doubt. The moot question as to the economical advantages of great and small estates cannot be disposed of by the off-hand dictum of an able lecturer. Nevertheless, while blaming Mr. Froude's rashness, economists may be pleased to see him enlisted in their ranks. This natural satisfaction is slightly diminished when it is perceived that Mr. Froude's zeal for economic truth is the result of his new-born enthusiasm for squires, whilst his admiration for squires rests apparently upon the fact that one of them—Mr. Augustus Smith—succeeded under very peculiar circumstances, in the Scilly Isles, in playing the part of a benevolent despot. That

Mr. Smith was a remarkable man and did a good work we readily admit. That his life proves anything in favor of a landed gentry is not so clear. A wise and benevolent tyrant may benefit mankind. The old difficulty remains, how to find a guarantee for the benevolence or wisdom of your tyrant. Still, that Mr. Froude should admire the monarch of Scilly is natural. That he should draw an immense inference from a single instance might be expected from his habit of mind. That Mr. Froude should pardon even Benthamism in a despot is a proof, if any were wanted, that the one object of his consistent adoration is any man of whatever creed who opposes democratic freedom. In his denunciations of political economy, and in his arguments as an economist in support of a landed gentry, Mr. Froude displays some intellectual contradiction, but displays a still greater amount of moral or sentimental consistency. When political economy seems to encourage the doctrine of *laissez-faire*, it is immoral; when its laws appear to support the despotism, mild as it is, of squires, these laws are absolute as the law of gravity.

"In countries governed by authority intelligence rules; in free countries numbers rule." Of the terms in which this doctrine is embodied little need be said except that such expressions as a "free country" and a "country where authority rules" are too lax to be used as the basis of a serious argument. What is worth notice is that Mr. Froude, who, if hardly an historian in any strict sense of the term, knows a good deal about history, has here hazarded an assertion confuted by facts known to every one who has paid the least attention either to history or to politics. If authority ever ruled in the ancient world, it ruled under the Caesars. A glance at Mr. Froude's account of Nero, in his article entitled "Divus Caesar," will show whether intelligence necessarily goes hand in hand with authority. In the modern world the age of Louis XIV. was in France the age of authority; Mr. Froude, at any rate, will not find in the revocation of the Edict of Nantes the proof of intelligence. The one spot of modern Europe governed till recent years by authority was the Roman States; where are we to find the signs of the wisdom or intelligence which, on Mr. Froude's view, must have ruled in Rome up to 1870? The one European country really ruled by numbers is modern Switzerland, and modern Switzerland has, beyond all other European countries, a right to assert that it is ruled by intelligence; for the Swiss Republic has triumphed over religious and political difficulties which would have torn greater countries in pieces; has spread education throughout her people, has maintained freedom without falling into anarchy, and has made her independence respected without calling into being that necessary evil of modern states—a standing army. Let no reader suppose for a moment that the rule of numbers ensures the rule of intelligence. The constitution of Mexico may, for aught we know, not differ materially from the constitution of the Swiss Republic. What we maintain is that neither the rule of authority nor the rule of numbers ensures, or is necessarily inconsistent with, the rule of intelligence. Mr. Froude's dogma is in reality the expression not of a fact but of a sentiment, and this is true of the greater number of the brilliant sentences with which his essays are filled. Whether he attacks political economy, eulogizes the landed gentry, or denounces the rule of numbers, he is above all things a man of "sentiment," in the strict sense of the word. His conclusions are the result of his feelings, and his teaching is enforced by appeals to the feelings (in many cases the noble feelings) of his readers. He has his reward in the influence which a sentimental writer exerts over his generation. But what he gains in present influence he will lose in future reputation. His books will live, if at all, not as the works of a reasoner but as the best literary expression of a peculiar and perhaps transitory phase of anti-democratic sentiment.

In the Levant. By Charles Dudley Warner, author of 'My Summer in a Garden,' etc. (Boston: J. R. Osgood & Co. 1877. Pp. 374.)—Mr. Warner's Oriental tour occupied the winter and spring of 1875. The first half of his journey, devoted to Egypt, has already been recorded by him in a work of which the first edition was entitled 'Mummies and Moslems,' and the last edition 'My Winter on the Nile.' 'In the Levant,' of which the next edition will doubtless be labelled 'My Spring upon Holy-Land,' continues the narrative of this tour, describing the coast of Turkey from Palestine to Greece. The most humorous chapter is that about the Dead Sea, though the whole book is in this respect only inferior to 'The Innocents Abroad,' which it so much resembles that it might almost be called its extension. The charms of the book may easily be stated as two: first, it is unconquerably good-natured, as witnessed by a vein of mirth never embittered by discomfort or irritation; secondly,

the author is free from prejudices and pretentious professions, and describes (precisely as he witnesses them) the ecclesiastical monstrosities which he beholds, without either palliation or abuse.

While warmly praising Mr. Warner for his honesty and jollity, we may be pardoned for cautioning him that American humor is always prone to degenerate into jauntiness, and that irony, in order not to be misunderstood, should be true in two senses, the literal as well as the figurative; otherwise a stupid reader will bitterly condemn a supposed liar or blasphemer. To be sure it is difficult to be always thus considerate. Sometimes a pair of quotation-marks will save offence, as in the sentence, "There is a little house north of this mosque, in which the Virgin spent the last years of her life; if she did, she must have lived to be over a thousand years old." Many people will accuse Mr. Warner of irreverence when he writes that the Jews' quarter appears to him "as if it were always Monday morning there, but never washing-day. . . . Even the sanctuary was full of unkempt people. . . . If this is a specimen of the restoration of the Jews, they had better not be restored any more. The thing to do on Friday is to go and see the Jews wail, as in Constantinople it is to see the Sultan go to prayer, and in Cairo to hear the darwishes howl. . . . This ancient practice is not what it once was, having lost its spontaneity by becoming fashionable; it will, however, be kept up, even if it should become necessary to hire people to wail." More open to objection is the following: "This intermittent character [of the Pool of Siloam] St. John attributed to an angel who came down and troubled the water; the Moslems, with the same superstition, say that it is caused by a dragon, who sleeps therein and checks the stream when he wakes." Had our author known that the text of Scripture upon which he bases the first predicate is now ascertained to be an interpolation, he might have been spared this blemish.

The criticism that too many conversations are quoted in this book appears to us unreasonable. What comments could be more suggestive than this: "We had a guide who never failed to satisfy the curiosity of the most credulous tourist. 'Whose tombs are these?' we asked. 'That is the tomb of Joseph of Arimathea, and that beside it is the tomb of Nicodemus.' 'How do you know?' 'How do I know? . . . I was born here.' 'Then perhaps you can tell us, if this tomb belonged to Joseph of Arimathea and this to Nicodemus, whose is this third one?' 'O yes, that other,' replied the guide, with only a moment's paralysis of his invention, 'that is the tomb of Arimathea himself.'" The following description of pilgrimages will show that Mr. Warner is not unappreciative of what is really sincere in the devotees of "religion":

"We hear more of the pilgrimage to Mecca than of that to Jerusalem; but the latter is the more remarkable phenomenon. I believe it equals the former, which is usually overrated in numbers, and it certainly equals it in zeal and surpasses it in the variety of nationalities represented. The pilgrims of the cross increase yearly; to supply their wants, to minister to their credulity, to traffic on their faith, is the great business of the Holy City. Few who are not in Palestine in the spring have any idea of the extent of this vast yearly movement of Christian people upon the Holy Land, or of the simple zeal which characterizes it. The dribbles of travel from America and from Western Europe are as nothing in the crowds thronging to Jerusalem from Ethiopia to Siberia, from the Baltic to the Ural Mountains. Already for a year before the Easter season have they been on foot, slowly pushing their way across great steppes, through snows and over rivers, crossing deserts and traversing unfriendly countries; the old, the infirm, women as well as men, their faces set towards Jerusalem. No common curiosity moves this mass; it is a true pilgrimage of faith, the one event in a life of dull monotony and sordid cares, the one ecstasy of poetry in an existence of poverty and ignorance."

L'Art de la Lecture. Par Ernest Legouvé, de l'Académie Française. (Paris: J. Hetzel & Cie.; New York: F. W. Christern. 18mo, pp. 171.)—M. Legouvé has an hereditary right to his taste for reading aloud. His father—like himself, a member of the French Academy—was a celebrated reader and even teacher of reading; when Mlle. Duchesnois made her first appearance she was announced in the bills as a pupil of M. Legouvé. The taste thus acquired from the father was strengthened by the necessities of the son's profession. M. Legouvé is the author of 'Médée,' in which Ristori was most powerful, and he was the collaborator of Scribe in writing 'Les Doigts de Fée,' 'La Bataille des Dames,' and other plays known to all interested in the French stage. As a dramatist he was called upon to read his plays aloud, and the acceptance of a piece at the hands of the committee of the Théâtre Français may often depend on the skill of the dramatist as a reader; in this very book M. Legouvé gives a most entertaining account of the way in which by his tact and talent as a reader he won over Rachel and induced her spontaneously to reverse her

decision to refuse 'Adrienne Lecouvreur,' which he and Scribe had written especially for her. As a dramatic author, also, M. Legouvé was thrown into close contact with the best actors in Europe—the Comédie Française—and with the best readers in France—Samson, Regnier, Got, Coquelin; and he watched them and worked with them. All these things combined to favor the author in his study of the art of reading aloud. To prove that it is an art is the object of the book before us.

It was the actor Macklin, if we mistake not, who advertised "Clergymen taught to read the Lord's Prayer." Lawyers, as much as clergymen, according to M. Legouvé, are victims of the theory that to read aloud well comes by nature. He seeks to show that it is an art, that like any other art it is long, and that it therefore deserves serious attention. His essay is at once an appeal in favor of the study of reading aloud as one of the fine arts and a preliminary lesson in the essentials of the art itself. Pointing out current errors, he shows the need of schooling to correct them. But although the intent of his book is didactic, nothing could be less dry. He teaches by example—he is famed in France as an admirable reader; and by examples—his pages are filled with pertinent anecdotes. He illustrates every part and point of his theme by the citation of some incident in his own experience as a reader, or by the quotation of some saying gathered in his career as a dramatist. By an anecdote of Mlle. Mars, for example, he shows that the effect of power is not produced on an audience by the expenditure of main strength. One morning, at a rehearsal of 'Louise de Lignerolles,' one of M. Legouvé's earliest successes, in which she was to "create" the part of the heroine, she seemed tired and indisposed to exert herself. In the second act she had a scene which needed great energy.

"She rehearsed it without letting out her voice, making indeed hardly any gestures, and yet all the effects, all the intentions, all the shades of sentiment were expressed and visible. It was like a picture seen from afar or like music heard at a distance. It suggested a pastel, slightly faded by time, but in which every tone keeps its exact shade, every form holds its exact value, and everything, in short, was complete in proper proportion. This little event was for me a revelation. I understood upon what a fixed basis the art of speech (*diction*) was founded, since a great artist could extinguish, if I may hazard the word, her personage without making it lose anything in its proportions, in its *ensemble*, or in its relief."

Great exertion is not only unnecessary but injurious, as the speaker or reader, when once tired, has no reserve of strength at the moment when perhaps it is most needed. Talma, says M. Legouvé, condensed this into one striking maxim: An artist who fatigues himself is mediocre. How not to fatigue himself was only discovered by Talma after protracted experiment and infinite labor. A really great artist, indeed, rarely shrinks from labor, however long. M. Legouvé relates that he and Rachel spent three hours toiling over thirty lines of this same play, "Louise de Lignerolles," in which Rachel was to follow and hoped to surpass Mars.

The book is dedicated to the students of the Superior Normal School of Paris, before whom the substance of it was delivered as a lecture. Teachers and students in this country will find much profit in it. To all amateur actors in particular it can be recommended; upon most of these its effect fortunately will be discouraging. For example, it will show them that one branch of the art of acting—the management and training of the voice—needs and repays an amount of practice of which the uninitiated can hardly form any idea. The speaker must train his voice as fully and as carefully as the singer, although in a different way. M. Legouvé tells us of Malibran that in singing the rondo of "La Sonnambula" she finished with a three-octave trill, and when complimented on this wonderful achievement, she gaily replied, "Oh! I sought it long enough. For a month I have been running after it. I chased it every where—when arranging my hair—when dressing myself—and I found it at last one morning in the toe of my slippers in putting them on!"

*. Publishers will confer a favor by always marking the price of their books on the wrapper.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

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